

Conservative
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war

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Pat Aufderheide and Tom Engelhardt report

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A nuke-free Pacific just won't do

By E. Rampell

The Republic of Palau, a tiny strategically located archipelago 500 miles east of the Philippines, is once again on a collision course with a superpower.

On February 6, Palauan voters went to the polls for the seventh national referendum in seven years on a proposed Compact of Free Association between the Western Pacific nation and the U.S. The compact would grant Palau limited home rule and substantial U.S. funding and would phase out a 43-year-old United Nations trusteeship of the island established after the U.S. invaded the former Japanese-ruled League of Nations mandate during its World War II island-hopping campaign. The U.N. entrusted Washington with developing the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), composed of Palau and most of Micronesia, toward eventual self-government.

In exchange, the Pentagon would retain sweeping access to Palau (a "strategic denial" clause prevents third countries from intervening). Through the compact, the Bush administration hopes to perpetuate military rights exercised under the U.N.'s only strategic trust. Under the broad defense provisions of this agreement, Washington has justified its nuclear testing program in the Marshall Islands, a CIA secret base in Saipan and logistical support for U.S. intervention in Korea and Vietnam.

Along with major installations in the Philippines and Guam, the strategic trust plays an important role in the U.S. post-war strategy of communist containment. Two glitches, however, threaten the U.S. forward-basing master plan. The first, a battle with the U.S. Defense Department, has repeatedly resulted in the failure of compact passage, numerous related court cases and several attempts at constitutional revision. It also has triggered a reign of terror and covert actions aimed at compact foes.

Less than three-fourths of Palau's voters participated in the February plebiscite in which the compact received a stunning defeat—at 60 percent, the lowest "yes" vote in all such referenda. The defeat came despite assertions that the U.S. would not renegotiate and the pact had been improved—claims Palauans have repeatedly heard before. At a time when people around the world are demanding more democracy, many Palauans chose not to vote, frustrated by the impotence of the electoral process.

Protesting pacifism: The source of the compact deadlock is the clash between U.S. defense options and Palau's constitutional prohibition of hazardous materials, which make it the world's first national nuclear-free zone. Washington first protested Palau's pacifism in 1979, when a

hazardous-substances ban was proposed during the emerging nation's constitutional convention. Despite frantic U.S. cables warning against the measure, the convention adopted the nuclear-free provisions and 92 percent of the electorate went on to approve the world's first anti-uke charter.

Anathema to U.S. policymakers fearing the anti-nuclear genie would escape from the bottle and spread throughout Oceania, Washington pressured Palauans to go to the polls two more times to cast ballots on their nuclear-free constitution in the early '80s, and each time it was overwhelmingly re-endorsed. In February 1983 and September 1984, the compact received about 61 percent and 68 percent of the vote. But President Haruo Remeliik tried unsuccessfully until his brutal assassination in June 1985 to pass the accord. Free Association architect Lazarus Sali won the ensuing election, backed by compact zealots.

Sali declared the treaty passed in February 1986, when it received 72 percent of the vote in the third compact referendum. But before it could be transmitted to Washington for completion of the ratification process, Ibedul Yutaka Gibbons, Palau's paramount chief, took the matter to court, contending that the compact was unconstitutional. William Kunstler's Center for Constitutional Rights in Washington sent Roman Bedor, longtime peace activist and paralegal, to join forces with Gibbons' counsel.

Palau's supreme court ruled that the treaty required a 75 percent vote in order to override the constitutional nuclear ban. The court also found that Palau's sweeping anti-nuclear statutes forbid transit of nuclear-powered and -armed ships and aircraft within the island chain's farflung territory—a ruling that makes Palau the most airtight national nuclear-free zone in the world.

The Rarotonga Treaty, which in 1985 declared the South Pacific a vast nuclear-free zone, allows for innocent passage upon the discretion of individual island nation signatories. Unlike Japan's anti-nuclear law, which has a huge loophole, Palau's constitution conflicts with U.S. policy to neither confirm nor deny whether its crafts are nuclear-capable. This means that the Pentagon can't introduce even conventional forces to Palauan land it claims under the compact because if the Palauan government inquires into the nature of these forces, the Defense Department will not reveal their status.

Let's make another deal: The compact's military provisions would grant the U.S. an option to one-third (about 33 square miles) of Palau for jungle warfare training, in addition to an airfield and a deep-water harbor, which critics contend could be used for Trident submarines. The provisions are to last for 50 years, at which time both governments must agree to their termination. The U.S., however, has the right to retain its military access in perpetuity.

According to a Pentagon contingency plan, Palau, with a population of 11,000, is the southern tier of a Western Pacific fallback arc. In case America's largest overseas bases, located in the troubled Philippines, are closed, the Defense Department plans to relocate portions of the facilities in the north at the Marianas and Guam and in the south at Palau. This could explain why Defense Secretary Dick Cheney stated during his recent Asian swing that the U.S. may pull its bases out of the Philippines if it cannot negotiate a good deal when the leases expire in 1991. But Palau's anti-nuclear stance puts the fallback plan on hold.

Compact foes also include landowners who fear their property will be coveted by the military. Rival political factions play Machiavellian power games, jumping back and forth over the compact fence. But anti-nuclearism remains at the heart of the matter.

Palau's coalition government under pro-U.S. President Ngratkel Etpison—elected by a mere 37 votes with the support of the pro-compact camp after Sali supposedly shot himself—is weak. In addition, opposition-linked Vice President Kuniwo Nakamura won his seat in a landslide, and the number of compact foes in the legislature is rising.

The question for this tiny chain of islands in limbo remains: whither Palau? Moves are again afoot to amend the constitution, but attempts to do so have repeatedly been foiled at the polls or in the courts. Hard-core anti-nuke activists have already stated that they'll take their revision to the Palau high court, where they frequently prevail. But even if compact supporters should eventually

triumph and Washington completes its end of the ratification process, a gremlin in the Kremlin could intervene.

Loose cannons: A Soviet veto in the U.N. Security Council could also prevent compact passage. Aware that Micronesia is "a strategic springboard" aimed against the Soviet Union, Moscow has long been critical of U.S. policy there. The Soviets contend that the strategic trust's purpose is to provide for "international peace and security," not unilateral U.S. defense interests. Unlike the White House, the Kremlin has signed the Rarotonga Treaty, endorses Palau's nuclear-free charter, condemns the compact as "imperialist annexation" and has already voted against TTPI termination in the U.N. Trusteeship Council (where it was outvoted by the U.S. and its allies).

However, the U.N. Charter stipulates that the alteration or amendment of a strategic trust must be approved by the Security Council, where the Soviets wield veto power. (The U.S. has conveniently avoided bringing trusteeship termination elsewhere in Micronesia before the council.)

Palauan Senate President Josh Koshiba has stated that another compact failure warrants consideration of an alternative political status. The 10 other U.N. trust territories all became independent or merged with contiguous entities long ago, and independence is a U.N.-guaranteed right for Palau. But in order for the U.N. to broker sovereignty for the republic and replace the indebted U.S.-dependent economy with development projects, Palau's national government must formally request independence and assistance. The time and place to do this is in May, during the annual U.N. Trusteeship Council sessions in Micronesia.

U.S. resistance could be met with a lawsuit at the World Court. Palau can charge that, like imperial Japan before it, the U.S. is breaching a sacred trust to advance the isles by militarizing the region: Palau's national aspira-

INSIDE STORY

tions are being sacrificed on the altar of the U.S. forward-basing policy. A defense posture is no longer required in today's climate of detente, whose winds of change are slow to blow in the Pacific Theater. A movement for U.N.-supported independence, spearheaded by the anti-nuclear forces, could lead the world's last de facto trust territory and first de jure national nuclear-free zone out of the desert and into the promised land.

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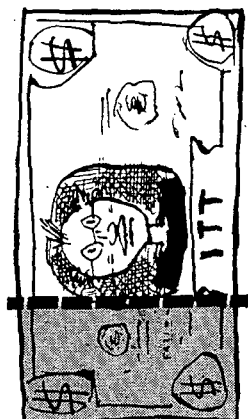
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By Paul Hockenos

EAST BERLIN

JUST DOWN THE ROAD FROM CHECKPOINT Charlie, the old Communist Party district offices buzz with flashing Xerox machines, international press crews and the clatter of manual typewriters. In the Haus der Demokratie, now campaign headquarters for a dozen opposition groups, activists are frantically preparing for East Germany's March 18 parliamentary elections. But as the first "free" election since 1949 approaches, the protest groups find themselves dwarfed by rival party machines and effectively shut out from the pluralistic processes that they set in motion.

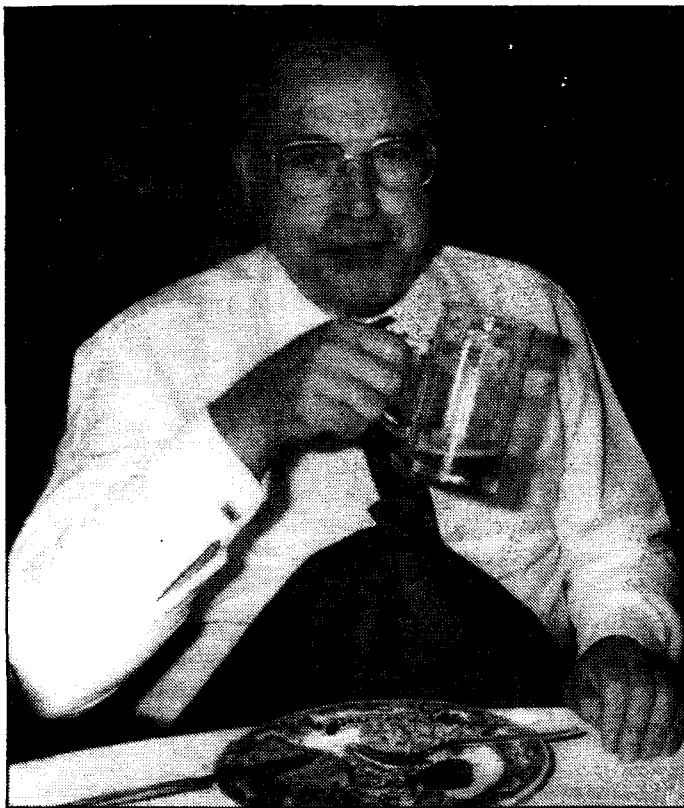
The forces at the forefront of the mass movement that toppled the ruling party and dismantled the secret police now stand isolated on the periphery of their own democracy. Rather than serving as a forum for the specific interests of the people of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the upcoming election has become a battleground for West German parties, a culmination of the steady flow of power from the people in the streets to the Bonn politicians and big-business interests in Frankfurt.

The major parties of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) have invested heavily in the election, which is closely bound up with their own political futures. Indeed, the stakes are high: the outcome could well determine whether West Germany's Social Democrat (SPD) candidate Oskar Lafontaine or Chancellor Helmut Kohl will be the first post-war chancellor to preside over one Germany. Pending the unification scenario that Bonn and Berlin settle upon, all 16 million East Germans could participate in the election scheduled for December 2. The vote here is not only a testing ground for potential support but also will determine the party or coalition government that will in some way merge with Bonn upon formal unification.

Kohl, no less than the SPD, also views the election as the last hurdle before the West can move full speed ahead with unification on its own terms. Although neither East Germany's interim government of Prime Minister Hans Modrow nor opposition forces mobilized credible resistance to the chancellor's strong-arm tactics of the past months—leaving East Germany powerless to oppose its own annexation—the victory of West German-backed sister parties will insure the FRG an even freer hand in dictating the terms of capitulation.

Staying the course: Implicit in Bonn's strategy is the neutralization of the power of those who took to the streets by the hundreds of thousands last November. The West wants mass-protest politics neither to upset the unification process in the East nor to catch fire in the West. The leader of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) has manipulated unification euphoria and East German fears of financial collapse to undermine the possibility of a limited autonomy or alternative system in the eastern third of a united Germany. With former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's slogan "No experiments" implicit in their message, Kohl, the SPD and its GDR sister parties have successfully rallied popular consensus into their "safe" camps and away from the independent activist groups.

So effectively has Kohl instilled the fear of ruin in East Germans that current polls show half the eligible voters seeking refuge



Who will run a united Germany: West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) or Social Democratic candidate Oskar Lafontaine?

East German opposition pushed out of the game

in the less extreme rhetoric of the SPD-East. The CDU's uncompromising reunification policy—which has earned the name *anschlusspolitik* after Hitler's annexation of Austria—includes a currency union as soon as April that would put 2 to 3.5 million people out of work. Full-scale privatization without laws to protect East Germans' property rights would leave the country at the mercy of West German capital.

The CDU is also handicapped by its Eastern sister party's history as a rubber-stamp bloc party in the former communist government. Although the CDU-East has joined a coalition with the conservative opposition party Democratic Departure and the upstart GDR version of the right-wing Bavarian Christian Socialist Union to boost its image, it still lacks the SPD's credibility. Nevertheless, the coalition serves Bonn well as its mouthpiece in Berlin and, with more West marks than it can spend, could capture a quarter of the vote.

The SPD, in contrast, rose out of the underground opposition and now appears certain to lead the next government. The party's traditional roots in the East and Western financing—to the tune of \$3 million—as well as technological and personnel assistance, has enabled it to dominate the political process in a way no one thought possible so soon after the fall of the old party. Under the leadership of one-time activist Ibrahim Böhme, imprisoned for a year for his work in the left opposition, the party has all but merged with its Western counterpart, agreeing to the basics of Kohl's annexation plans, although with vaguely worded promises of social guarantees, environmental legislation and property rights.

The party's manifesto at its recent congress is, in fact, decidedly to the right of that of the SPD-West. Unlike their sister party, the SPD-East declines to call itself "demo-

cratic socialist." Even financial experts in the West see their agreement to a July currency union as a potentially catastrophic move.

Opposition goals: With meager East mark budgets, allocated by the government, the residents of Haus der Demokratie have put their own coalitions together and are fielding candidates in each of the 15 regional districts. All of the groups rule out a coalition with either the revamped communist party, which has reconciled itself to a new role in the opposition, or with the CDU alliance. While some activists still hold onto a remote hope of joining the SPD in a government coalition, most have set their sights on gaining at least limited representation in the 400-seat Volkskammer. Despite SPD and CDU attempts to ban non-parties from the vote and institute a 5 percent minimum clause for representa-

East Germany's parliamentary elections have become a battleground for West German parties.

tion—similar to the one in the FRG—the protest groups need only 30,000 votes nationally for their top candidate to win a seat and a proportional percentage for regional representation.

The coalition Bündnis 90, composed of New Forum, Democracy Now and Initiative for Peace and Human Rights, is the strongest of the activist groupings with only single-digit shows in recent polls. The coalition has a detailed left-of-center, "anti-politics" platform, although it refuses to use the discredited term "left" to describe itself. It em-

phasizes its non-ideological grass-roots nature, falling somewhere between a political party and a citizens' movement. The development of a broad participatory democracy at every level of society—from community initiatives to direct presidential elections—is at the center of its agenda.

In the spirit of the autumn cry "We are the people," Bündnis 90 envisions a participatory civil society, based on solidarity and community, in which people represent themselves in the political process. "There's a real lack of trust in political parties," says Stephan Bickhardt, one of the founders of Democracy Now. "We want to overcome the discrepancy between direct and representative democracy."

The movement groups want to use a position in parliament to encourage grass-roots democracy. "A purely representative democracy, like that in the West, disempowers the people," says Bickhardt, who worked for years in the evangelical peace movement before opposition was legalized. "Our goal is not to represent people, to speak for them, but rather to work with them on specific issues and open up the channels through which they can articulate and address their own problems."

Bickhardt and others see the coalitions' low standing in the polls as unrepresentative of the grass-roots political consciousness that the November events facilitated and that Bündnis 90 embodies. "The citizens' movement, as small as it is now, had more power than the ruling state power just a few months ago," he adds. "People haven't lost that spirit or forgotten that we were the ones to articulate it, not political parties. That consciousness doesn't evaporate overnight. We intend to work with that spirit whether we're in parliament or not."

The best path? The three groups, with a 200,000-person membership, advocate a "social-ecological market economy," which includes extensive education, health and job-training programs, as well as heavy investment in alternative energy sources to replace soft coal and nuclear power. Although they point to no existing model, movement

Continued on page 8

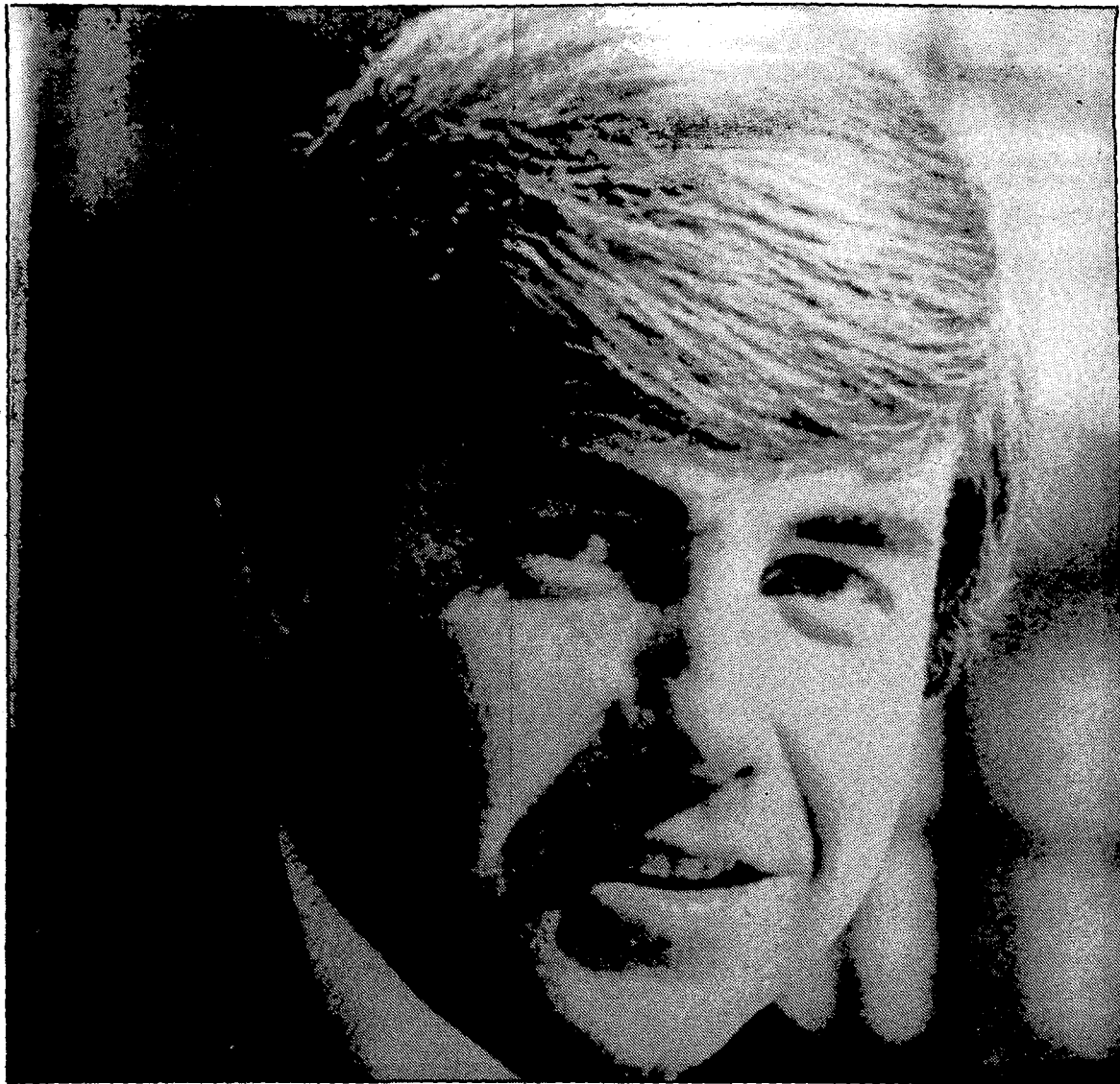
By Joel Bleifuss

House to probe CIA-S&L connection

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence announced on March 1 that it will investigate alleged CIA involvement in the collapse of 22 failed savings and loans (S&Ls). The plans to investigate grew out of a series of stories by the *Houston Post's* Pete Brewton, who reported that his "eight-month investigation into the role of fraud in savings and loan failures found numerous links between organized-crime figures and CIA operatives, including some involved in gun running, drug smuggling, money laundering and covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras." (See "In Short," February 21 and February 28.) The cost to the taxpayer for bailing out these failed thrifts is put at \$13.1 billion.

Bush whacked? The committee will likely be probing waters infested with sharks, loan and otherwise. One of the 22 failed S&Ls that the *Post* links to the CIA and organized crime is Silverado Savings of Denver, Co.—at one time the second-largest S&L in the state. It is estimated that the Silverado bailout will cost taxpayers \$1 billion. (This figure is more than half of what President George Bush proposes spending on the Head Start early-education program in 1991.) One of Silverado's former directors is the president's 35-year-old son, Neil Bush. Neil sat on the Silverado board from mid-1985 to October 1988, two months before federal regulators closed it down. Keith Dubay reports in the *Rocky Mountain News* that on January 26 the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Thrift Supervision announced that it would seek a cease-and-desist order against the young Bush for engaging in what officials consider questionable banking practices. The government's case alleges that certain loans approved by Bush during his tenure as a Silverado director involved "conflicts of interest." Bush has told reporters that the Office of Thrift Supervision was merely referring to a June 1986 vote he cast to grant a Silverado loan to Bill Walters, a prominent Denver real-estate developer. Bush would not disclose the amount of the loan. Walters, who has defaulted on untold tens of millions of dollars in Silverado loans, was a partner in JNB Exploration, an oil company founded in January 1983 by Bush and two friends from the Amoco corporation. In 1982, Walters contributed \$150,000 to help Bush start up JNB. A bank owned by Walters, Cherry Creek National Bank, later loaned the Bush partnership \$1.75 million. JNB never repaid that loan, and consequently the bank foreclosed on land that had been put up as collateral by another Bush partner, Ken Good, a real-estate developer who owned stock in Silverado. Good is currently the sole owner of JNB. Like Walters, Good also was granted loans by Silverado, but Bush says he abstained from those votes. According to the *Rocky Mountain News*, Good defaulted on at least \$32 million worth of Silverado loans. As Bush once told Bernice Stengle of the *St. Petersburg Times*, "[Good] likes taking small risks for big potential rewards." In 1985 Good left Denver for Tampa, Fla., where he founded Gulfstream Holding Corp. with the help of loans from Silverado and placed young Bush on the board of directors. Gulfstream's real-estate developments in Florida are now sinking under a \$100 million debt that Good is having trouble paying off. Since Good's move to Tampa, 15 of the 20 lending institutions he has borrowed from either failed or are operating under federal regulators. In a press release, Bush said he never personally benefited from the tens of millions in loans Silverado made to his business partners.

CIA verbage: The intelligence committee's decision to investigate possible CIA and mob connections to S&L failures follows the refusal of CIA Director William Webster to appear at a closed-door session of the House Subcommittee on Financial Institutions, Supervision and Regulation. Webster had been asked to meet with the subcommittee concerning the allegations raised by the *Post*. In a February 14 valentine to subcommittee chairman Rep. Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.), Webster denied the request. The CIA explained in a letter, "As a matter of principle, we do not believe it appropriate to dignify with formal congressional testimony scurrilous and unsubstantiated allegations such as those made by the *Houston Post*." But that letter, which was issued by the CIA's Director of Congressional Affairs E. Norbert Garrett and signed by Deputy Director Gary Chase, raised more questions than it answered. It claimed that CIA officials "have been in contact with Assistant U.S. Attorney John Smith in Houston, who is quoted in the *Post*. Smith states emphatically that he has never said that there is any connection between his office's ongoing banking in-



Kemp slips out public housing's back door

U.S. Housing Secretary Jack Kemp abruptly canceled a long-awaited meeting with the National Tenants Organization (NTO) last month under the convenient pretense that he was unfairly accused of racism by the NTO.

The tenant group has been waiting to speak to Kemp for five months about his controversial waiver of federal lease and grievance procedures in about 30 states. The waivers allow local public-housing authorities (PHAs) to hasten evictions by precluding PHA hearings and bringing charges directly to local housing courts. "Kemp is the first housing secretary who has refused to meet with us in our 20 years of existence," says NTO Chair Maxine Green.

The waivers were granted ostensibly to get rid of tenants accused of drug trafficking or use, according to the NTO, but they have been used to remove tenants who are behind on their rent or involved in management disputes.

The NTO executive board interpreted Kemp's purported indignation as a ploy to back out of the meeting because of his "unjustifiable positions" on evictions as well as continued public-housing funding cuts and efforts to privatize the industry.

In a letter to Green, Kemp wrote, "Your statement that President Bush and I are 'racists' for pursuing policies for evicting drug dealers from public housing is inexcusable." Green, however, insists that she

never called Kemp a racist and says he is referring to a sentence from a recent position paper entitled "Drugs in Public Housing," where she wrote, "The question before us is whether the Bush administration will continue to hide behind conservative, racist policies or respond to the needs of public-housing tenants."

HUD spokesperson Bill Glavin explains that Kemp granted waivers to PHAs in various cities only when the federal procedures duplicate state law. In cases where state law affords tenants due process in state grievance procedures, Glavin says, the waiver avoids often-lengthy administrative hearing procedures "which could drag on for months."

But NTO's Washington, D.C., legislative liaison, Rick Tingling-Clemmons, insists that the drug reference is merely a cover for the mass evictions that occurred in the nation's capital and elsewhere last fall. "Close to 150 families were evicted while televisions were blasting the edicts of Kemp and the drug czar," Tingling-Clemmons says, arguing that most families were evicted for falling behind on their rent payments or for being involved in disputes with management. "One old woman was evicted because her son had a long drug record. When he was busted, he gave her address to the police, although he didn't live with her," he says.

Tingling-Clemmons says that Kemp's waiver of lease and grievance procedures in Washington pushed families directly into housing court, without the opportunity to challenge the charges through the usual administrative hearing at the housing authority. Many families, he says, either without the money to

hire a lawyer or ignorant of the law and their rights, lost their cases or simply didn't appear at hearings. And, he adds, with a lack of legal-services attorneys because of cuts during the Reagan administration, "due process bites the grid again."

NTO Legislative Committee Chair Jim Houghton says that the move to curtail public-housing tenants' rights to due process began even before drug trafficking entered into the discussion. NTO is currently pushing legislation that would allow HUD to bypass lease and grievance procedures only when an eviction involves felonious criminal activity that threatens the health and safety of other tenants or PHA employees.

Houghton says that the eviction fervor at HUD—in 1989 more than 1,000 families were evicted from public housing in New York City alone—stems from the "ongoing campaign to wipe out public housing." He cited a 1983 HUD feasibility study which concluded that government could and should get out of public housing by moving toward tenant management, ownership and privatization. The fantastic cuts in HUD funding—the budget went from \$33 billion in 1981 to \$7 billion last year—attest to the adoption of this philosophy, he says.

Kemp is pursuing privatization through a program called Housing and Opportunity for People Everywhere, or HOPE. NTO's Green, who opposes this plan, argues that funds should be restored instead. With these funds, "maintenance and renovation can be resumed, abandoned developments reclaimed and ... beautification, recreation, elevator services, cleanliness and education ... restored ... so that tenants can ac-

celerate their own organized efforts to attack the problem of drugs in their developments."

"As long as there is money to be made and people are poor and with-

out opportunity for a better life, drugs will be circulated and used," says Green. "Through educational programs, job placement and training, drug therapy, organized and

supervised cultural and recreational programs and beefed-up tenant patrols, tenants can bring drug use under control."

—Matthew Reiss

Indiana's pro-choice PAC gets down to single issue

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—With prospective candidates already scouting for supporters and contributions in anticipation of Indiana's May primaries, the legislative committee of the Indiana Women's Network for Political Action is busy screening applicants and deciding who to support.

Formed last August in the wake of the Supreme Court's restrictive *Webster* abortion decision, the uncompromisingly pro-choice political action committee (PAC) blossomed with an initial surge of support that had surprised even its organizers. By October, it had \$80,000 in cash on hand and pledges; as of now it has \$150,000. This makes the Indiana Women's Network for Political Action one of the most significant PACs in the Hoosier state.

The group's goal is simply to preserve legal abortion under *Roe vs. Wade* by placing pro-choice legislators in the Indiana General Assembly. Although Indiana polls show the pro-choice position supported almost 2-to-1 over the anti-abortion position, restrictive abortion legisla-

tion readily passed the Indiana House only to be narrowly defeated in the Senate.

Shortly after the group's formation last year, Cynthia Mahern, one of the PAC's founders, told the *Indianapolis Star*, "I don't think any of us have ever been single-issue people in terms of our support for candidates or our votes. But we have one litmus test—and doing nothing on abortion is it."

The threat is apparently working. At least one Democrat who wishes to run for Indiana's seat in the U.S. Senate publicly changed his position from anti-abortion to pro-choice. And with a very well stocked war chest, the Indiana Women's Network is being eagerly courted by both incumbent and prospective state legislators. "The candidates are coming to us," says network Co-chair Sheila Seuss Kennedy.

The network is thoroughly bipartisan, with Republican and Democratic co-chairs for all committees. Its sole issue is abortion.

The women who founded the network are socially and politically prominent in the state. Sheila Seuss Kennedy, the Republican co-chair, is a former Indianapolis corporation counsel. Her Democratic counterpart, Ruth Naremore, is a professor at the main Indiana University cam-

pus at Bloomington. Mahern, a Democrat, is an aide to U.S. Rep. Andy Jacobs. Joan Rubin, a Republican, is a professor at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis and the wife of a former state senator. Other women prominent in the PAC include Marilyn Schultz, former Democratic state representative and present executive director of the Mental Health Association in Indiana; and Joyce Martello, former executive director of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union.

The PAC's campaign contributions will be earmarked for races in which the outcome is expected to be close and for those in which there is a good chance that a pro-choice candidate will be seated over an anti-choice one. The PAC does not intend to give money to pro-choice candidates whose victories are virtually assured, nor to pro-choice candidates whose defeats are foregone conclusions.

"We want no more restrictive legislation on abortion than we already have," says Betty Williams, the PAC's organizational coordinator. "People are concerned about the abortion issue," says Williams, "and many people who are not normally single-issue people will be single-issue people when it comes to this coming election." —George Fish

Take your politics shopping

You stop at the supermarket to pick up some frozen orange juice and notice that both the Dole and the Citrus Hill brands are on sale. Does it matter which you choose?

What if you knew that Dole's parent company has done relatively little to promote women's advancement, community outreach or environmental protection, whereas Citrus Hill's parent company actively supports all of these causes? What if you also knew that Dole's parent company resisted inquiries regarding its policies on minority advancement, animal testing, employees' family benefits and donations to charity and refused to disclose substantive information about any of its social programs?

Driving home from the store you notice that your gas tank is nearly empty. Should you fill up at Texaco or Sunoco? The prices are the same, but what if you knew that Texaco is a top 100 Pentagon contractor and Sunoco is not?

If facts like these would alter the way you shop, you should pick up a copy of the new and improved *Shopping for a Better World*. Published by the Council on Economic Priorities, this pocket-sized gold mine of consumer information is an easy-to-use guide to socially and environmentally responsible con-

sumerism. *Shopping for a Better World* first appeared about a year ago and is currently in its second incarnation.

As businesses grow more complicated and almighty, many consumers tend to feel discouraged and forget their own power in the marketplace.

Buyers can vote with their pocketbooks, choosing products they feel are socially responsible and boycotting companies that don't toe the line. Although many consumers feel they lack the time and energy to research their purchases, *Shopping for a Better World* makes it easy.

Shopping for a Better World provides concise information on corporate behavior in 11 areas of environmental and social interest. At a glance, the booklet can tell you that Company X contributes more than 1 percent of its earnings to charity and that its board of directors includes a woman and a person of color. And that it actively supports housing programs in its region. You can quickly learn that Company Y lacks recycling or waste-reduction programs. And that it invests in South Africa, supports nuclear power and does a lot of business with the Defense Department. Then, to quote one reviewer, you can "turn your shopping cart into a vehicle for social change."

Conscientious consumers have already altered the market. In 1985, U.S. shoppers could choose from 55

"green" products—products that do not pollute or deplete non-renewable resources. Today the list has grown to more than 700 such products. *Shopping for a Better World* taps into a sense of concern, enabling the average shopper to buy according to belief. The booklet also lists the addresses, phone numbers and chief officers of the 168 companies covered.

The booklet does have inherent limitations. Because it is so condensed, complicated issues are severely simplified. For example, as the authors note in an appendix, "Categories such as 'Environmental' and 'Community Outreach' are extremely complex.... The readers should be aware that ratings in these two categories are less precise." And even when the issues are more straightforward, mere summaries of the company policies cannot tell the whole story.

But *Shopping for a Better World* does not purport to be an exhaustive review, and ultimately its compactness is more a strength than a weakness. It's cheaper than dinner. It takes only minutes to master and only seconds to use. And it fits in your pocket like a candy bar, but it's a whole lot better for you.

Shopping for a Better World is available for \$5.95 (five copies for \$18) from the Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. Or call 1-800-822-6435.

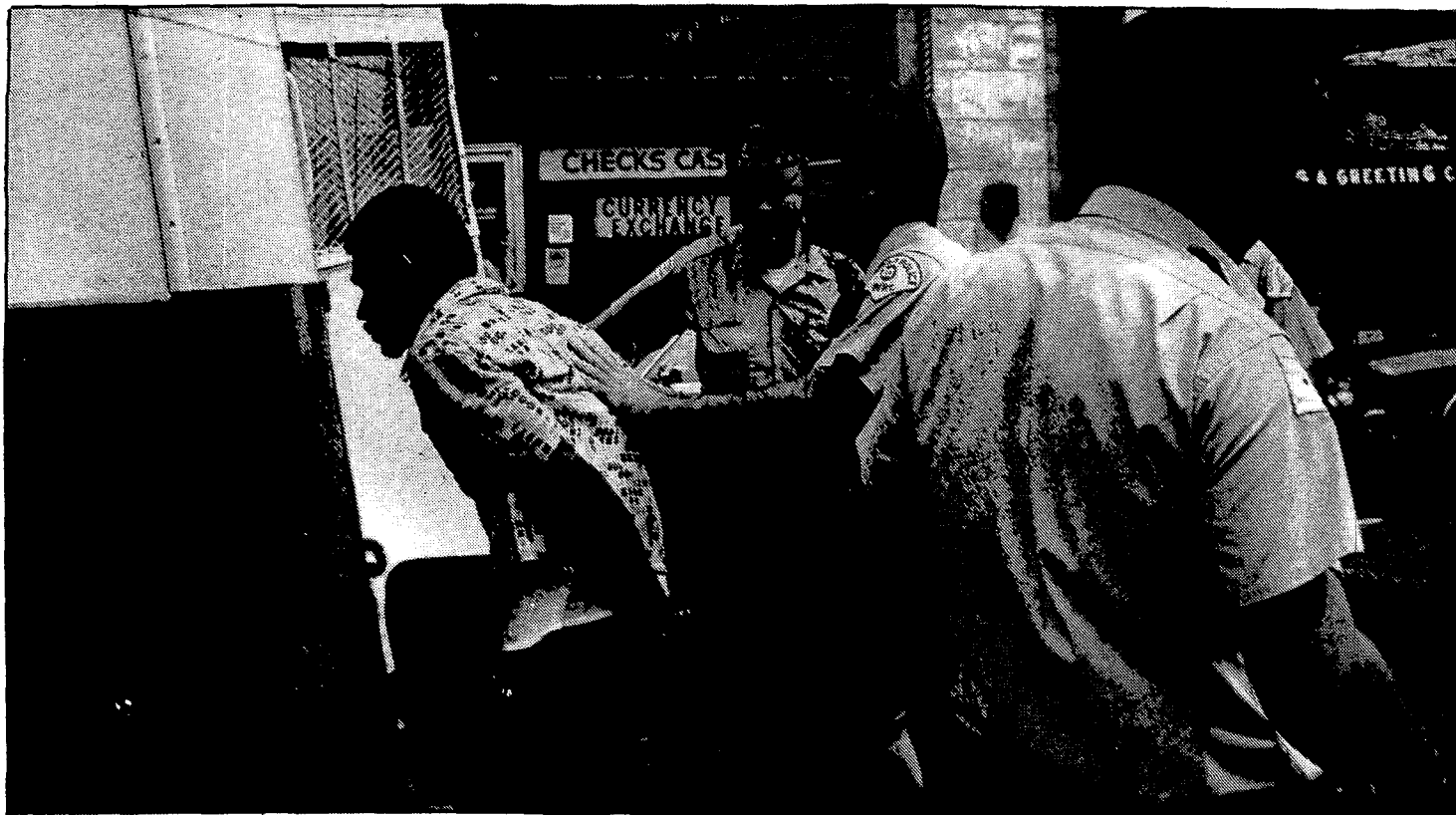
—Jeff Balch

vestigation and the CIA, and that he is not aware of any such connection between the CIA and the ongoing banking investigation. The reporter appears to have neglected to include this part of Smith's statement in the article." But according to Smith, the CIA letter misrepresents his statements. Smith says that, contrary to CIA claims, Brewton had quoted him accurately. Smith explained to the *Post*, "When that [CIA] guy called me, I told him I wanted [the part where I supposedly said there was no CIA connection] deleted [from their letter to the subcommittee], and I wanted them to say something else because I didn't think that part was quite accurate." When told of Smith's protestation, CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield said the agency "stands by the letter." In response, *Houston Post* editor in chief David Burgin said, "The *Post* stands by its stories. It isn't the *Post* making these charges; it's any number of sources, some of who have come forward at what they believe to be great personal risk. ... Let the Congress investigate the allegations and connections with the same vigor it probed the Iran-contra affair to see who is culpable. Unfortunately, as history has shown time and again, the 'C' in CIA does not stand for credibility. The fact remains that billions of dollars are missing in the national S&L scandal. Where did it all go?"

It's a scandal: Having been stymied by the CIA, Annunzio wrote Rep. Anthony Beilenson (D-CA), the chair of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, asking him to investigate the *Post* allegations. Annunzio wrote, in part: "I asked the staff of [my] subcommittee to conduct preliminary investigations to see if there was ground to pursue the matter further. ... Because of the large number of media charges, the staff was not able to pursue many leads. However the staff did interview twice a former Department of Justice prosecutor, who told the staff that while pursuing a bank-failure investigation, he was told by FBI agents to drop the investigation of one of the individuals connected with the bank failure because that individual had 'CIA connections.' The prosecutor was also told that the individual involved had a 'get-out-of-jail-free card.' [This is a reference to Iranian businessman Farhad Azima; see 'In Short,' February 28.] My staff contacted one of the FBI agents who was present at that meeting and was told that the statements made by the former prosecutor were correct, and that the statements regarding the CIA were made in his presence. ... In face of the billions of dollars that are being paid to protect depositors, we cannot allow any suggestion that the CIA was behind the failure of any financial institution not be investigated. If these charges are true, then appropriate action must be taken against the CIA. I know of no 'get-out-of-jail-free card' that applies to the CIA. No agency is above the law. ... In that regard, I am writing to ask that your committee undertake a complete investigation of the allegations that the CIA was involved in the collapse of some financial institutions around the country. I am asking that the committee conduct a thorough investigation so that there can be no unsettled questions in this extremely troubling area."

Who's in charge? The man who will oversee the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence investigation is Anthony C. Beilenson of Beverly Hills, Ca. As a liberal California Democrat, Beilenson opposed aid to the contras and funding for Star Wars. He is an ardent supporter of public financing of congressional elections. He is also concerned about erasing the federal deficit, a feat made more difficult by the \$150 billion to \$200 billion it will cost to bail out failed S&Ls. A congressional aide who has worked on Central American issues with Beilenson told *In These Times*, "He's a good, decent, progressive guy. He's been against contra aid. He's been a pretty good chair of the intelligence committee."

News not fit for print? With the exception of one report by National Public Radio's Linda Wertheimer, the national media appears to be ignoring the *Houston Post* stories. The big-three television networks have been silent. Likewise neither the *Washington Post* nor the *New York Times* has bothered to report on Brewton's findings, although the *New York Times* reportedly has people in the field. "The major-league players haven't done anything," Brewton told *In These Times*. "I didn't expect them to immediately. They are not the kind of guys that are going to rewrite a *Houston Post* story—you know, they are above all that. But they're the ones that can really get Congress moving, and it's going to take a congressional investigation to help uncover and expose what has happened. If the major news organizations don't start working on this, it will not be a good sign for any of us."



Chicago police arrest a young black man. Nearly one in four young African-American males is either incarcerated or on parole or probation.

By Salim Muwakkil

Get-tough crime policies squeeze a generation

FREEDOM MAY BE MARCHING ACROSS THE international stage, but there's grim news for some on the home front. As U.S. inmate populations swell to accommodate the hard-line attitudes of vote-hungry politicians, the black community is steadily losing some of its most-important human resources. According to a recently released report, almost one in four young African-American men is under the control of the criminal-justice system, far outnumbering the total enrolled in all U.S. colleges. Comparable rates for young white men are one in 16.

The report, released by The Sentencing Project (TSP), a Washington, D.C.-based group that promotes sentencing reform, is an analysis of data long available from the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the Bureau of the Census. "We set out specifically to examine the impact of the criminal-justice system on the lives of young black men and black communities, and we found it to be even more devastating than we had imagined," explained Marc Mauer, assistant director of TSP and author of the study.

An entire generation: "Whether the causes of crime are individual or societal, we now have a situation where nearly one-fourth of the black community's young men are effectively excluded from assuming leadership roles," he said. And trends show no sign of reversing. Indeed, incarceration rates have been accelerated by the Bush administration's "war on drugs." And since drug law enforcement is focusing on the trafficking of crack-cocaine—the drug of choice for the urban poor—the incarceration rate for African-Americans will increase disproportionately.

This situation "risks the possibility of writing off an entire generation of black men from having the opportunity to lead productive lives," Mauer said. What's more, he added, the get-tough approach to criminal justice is as ineffective as it is expensive. "We're courting a real social disaster with our current methods," Mauer said.

The following were among the report's

major findings:

- On any given day, 23 percent of all black men in the age group 20-29 are either in prison or jail or are on probation or parole.

- For white men in the age group 20-29, 6.2 percent are under the control of the criminal-justice system.

- The rate is 10.4 percent for Hispanic men.

- While the proportion of women in the criminal-justice system is much lower than that for men, the racial disproportions are parallel. For women in their 20s, rates of criminal-justice control are 2.7 percent for black women, 1 percent for white women and 1.8 percent for Hispanics.

- The number of young black men under the control of the criminal-justice system is nearly 40 percent greater than the total number of all black men enrolled in college as of 1986. By comparison, four times as many white males attend college than are under the control of the criminal-justice system.

- The annual cost for incarceration and control of young black men exceeds \$2.5 billion.

- Although crime rates increased by only 2 percent in the period 1979-88, the number of prison inmates doubled.

Victimization: Many black leaders applauded the report for its statistical rigor, but others were less pleased. "The report should have focused on the three out of four black men who are not involved in the criminal-justice system," said Rev. Micah Clawson, a Chicago clergyman. His sentiment is typical of those African-Americans who criticize traditional black leadership for its relentless focus on deprivations. "By constantly emphasizing our victimization, our leaders only promote feelings of frustration and apathy," Clawson added.

Adjoa Aiyetoro, director of the National conferences of Black Lawyers and commu-

nity-affairs director for the American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project, doesn't share Clawson's perspective. "I think the report will shock a lot of people, and it may be shocking enough to spark some activity," she said. "Certainly, it provides a starting point for a comprehensive strategy."

Aiyetoro suggests a wide-ranging strategy: attack the external conditions—poverty and racism—that predispose young black men to lives of crime, while bringing a sharper focus on methods of developing community strength. "We also have to make a case for new approaches to criminal justice. This society's overreliance on incarceration has given us a total inmate population of more than 1 million—a national disgrace—and produced the racial disparities that were so well detailed in the TSP study."

But the U.S. public, pumped into an anti-drug fervor by the Bush administration's military metaphors, is patently unreceptive to Aiyetoro's message. And while the state and federal governments are scraping their budgets for funds to aid education, health care and housing, the nation is expending billions of dollars to construct new prisons and renovate old ones.

The American Correctional Association reported that a total of 260 new state prisons are being built around the country, adding 114,715 new units at an estimated cost of \$4.1 billion for fiscal year 1990. State governments are spending more than \$12 billion this year—twice the operating costs of five years ago—to manage their existing overcrowded facilities.

Most experts predict the inmate population will soon overrun even the new facilities. According to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, a San Francisco-based think tank specializing in criminal-justice issues, the nation's prison population will

grow by 68.4 percent between 1989 and 1994. And, according to Aaron McVey, senior research associate at the council, "the prison population will double by the year 2000 if something isn't done."

Mauer is optimistic. "Our report clearly struck a nerve," he said. "We've received an extraordinary amount of media coverage and got a good reaction in Congress. A lot

BLACK AMERICA

of people are beginning to realize that our country's tough policy is a failure, and they are seeking alternatives that make better sense. That's where we come in again."

The TSP study lists a number of strategies for more effective criminal-justice policies. They included the following:

- Divert as many minor and first-time offenders as possible from the system entirely.

- Reverse the trend to "criminalize" socially undesirable acts as a means of controlling public behavior.

- Jails and prisons should be sanctions of last resort for offenders who cannot be diverted from the system. A range of community-based sentencing options exist which are less costly and more effective than incarceration.

Despite Mauer's optimism and compelling logic, there are few signs of changing attitudes within the criminal-justice establishment. Such intransigence is not strange to many black activists. "Rather than regarding a predominantly black inmate population as a problem, I'm sure that many white officials see it instead as a solution," noted Conrad Worrill of the National Black United Front.

No change in sight: The failures of the criminal-justice system have done little to convince politicians to temper their rough-tough, lock-'em-up rhetoric. Law-and-order platitudes still deliver political payoffs. Even in the black community—which used to be hostile to such appeals—tough talk about crime has become politically savvy. This development is not surprising.

Throughout history the African-American community has been inordinately plagued with crime. This was a function of many things, including poverty and racism. But the primary reason for the problem is the lack of self-regard. Weaned on the theory and practice of white supremacy and prevented from gathering even the remnants of their indigenous cultures, Americans of African descent were encouraged to devalue—even detest—their own identities. That legacy lives today in the statistic citing homicide as the leading cause of death for young black men.

"The problem of crime is a complex one and will not be resolved overnight" wrote Mauer in the study's conclusion. But, he added, "rather than viewing the solution as hopeless or too long-term, though, there are real and immediate actions which can be taken to prevent the next generation of black males from further swelling the ranks of correctional populations."

Although the TSP report focused on alternative criminal-justice strategies, Mauer does not pretend that such strategies are enough to change the system's bias against black men. Those biases are ingrained in most of this country's institutions, and the struggle to uproot them will take many forms. □

By David Moberg

ONE YEAR AFTER EASTERN'S MACHINIST union members went on strike in protest of President Frank Lorenzo's dismemberment of the airline, they returned—just long enough to remind Lorenzo that the strike isn't over.

Several thousand strikers wearing red solidarity T-shirts paraded through the Eastern concourse at the airline's home

LABOR

base in the Miami airport to mark the March 4 anniversary, evading authorities' efforts to keep them out of passengers' view.

Although Eastern pilots and flight attendants called off their solidarity strikes last November, the Machinists have persevered in a struggle they may not be able to win but that Lorenzo seems likely to lose. Although Lorenzo eventually recruited enough strikebreakers to operate about two-thirds of Eastern's pre-strike schedule, the airline continues to lose \$2 million a day and has become a threat to the viability of parent company Texas Air, which also owns Continental.

A bowl of cherry pits: With serendipitous timing, David Shapiro, the examiner appointed by the federal bankruptcy court that is overseeing Eastern's reorganization, reported just before the strike anniversary that Texas Air had systematically robbed Eastern. During its purchase of Eastern, Texas Air overcharged and underpaid Eastern in a dozen major transactions. Its strategy was to "cherry-pick the core parts of the Eastern system and become the substitute system," according to Texas Air Senior Vice President Robert Snedeker.

Shapiro calculated that Texas Air's corporate larceny cost Eastern as much as \$403 million, and he subsequently ordered the parent to repay Eastern \$280 million. Although Shapiro's findings represent a major political and public-relations defeat for Lorenzo, Texas Air should



Eastern Machinists maintain their year-old strike as the company continues to lose \$2 million a day.

Lorenzo's wings clipped by feds and machinists

have no trouble repaying Eastern: it recently sold half of all interest in System One, its computerized reservation network, to General Motors' Electronic Data Systems subsidiary for \$250 million. Lorenzo "cherry-picked" System One from Eastern, paying not in cash but in long-term notes with an estimated value of \$35 million.

Eastern's union members long maintained that Lorenzo undermined the air-

line, thus creating its financial crises. Since he was dismantling—not developing—the airline, the members believed concessions were pointless. Lorenzo wanted a non-unionized Continental to replace a unionized Eastern.

If the unions were vindicated by Shapiro's report, they were disappointed with his remedy. They see hope for Eastern and a contract settlement—but not with Lorenzo in control. Shapiro rejected the

unions' request to have the court appoint a trustee, a move even the *Miami Herald* has endorsed.

Tick tock: Lorenzo is sitting on several financial time bombs:

- Last year Eastern accounted for the bulk of Texas Air's industry-record loss of \$885.6 million. The airline has filled more seats only by slashing fares so much that it is making no net gain. The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that many travel agents are refusing to offer Eastern tickets to their clients. Prospects for recovery are further weakened by rising fuel prices and a slumping industry.

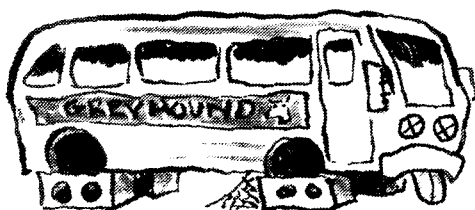
- Creditors with unsecured loans not backed by specific assets have grown increasingly frustrated as Lorenzo continues to renege on his promises. In January the creditors rejected Eastern's offer to pay 10 cents cash for every dollar owed, with the remainder to be paid in Eastern stock and no-interest long-term debt. Lorenzo ultimately was forced to offer

Greyhound management on the road to ruin in volatile strike

In his pep talks with employees over the past three years, Greyhound Bus Lines owner Fred G. Currey has insisted that he's no Frank Lorenzo or Carl Icahn. But the 9,000 bus drivers, mechanics and service workers who went on strike March 2 wearing hats that said "Drop Dead Fred" have their doubts.

In a 1987 highly leveraged \$350 million buyout, Currey imposed about a 20-percent cut in wages and benefits on Greyhound workers, who already had made 12- to 15-percent pay concessions following a turbulent strike in 1983. But Currey promised to build the bus lines and offered bonuses as passenger loads grew.

At the onset of negotiations last October, the company and the Amalgamated Transit Union were greatly divided on wages: Currey wanted any increase tied to further growth and additional criteria often not under drivers' control. But union sources say that by the strike deadline the two sides were close to a pay agreement that would freeze hourly wages for the next four years and would



simply incorporate bonuses from the past three years into the additional payment per mile drivers have always received. The only real pay hike would come as mileage rates increased modestly in subsequent years. As an alternative, the union reportedly offered to renew its contract with only cost-of-living pay increases.

The real sticking point of the strike is Currey's insistence on removing language from the contract that gives employees grounds for challenging disciplinary actions in arbitration proceedings. Currey also wants to increase the use of part-time drivers and to contract out labor from all parts of the system without abiding by the union's contractual terms. "That scares the hell out of us," says Local 1303 Vice President William Pearsall.

Workers fear such a free hand could undermine their contract and eliminate many of their jobs. They also object to proposed changes in work rules and seniority and recall rights.

While Currey has vowed to hire permanent replacement workers, Greyhound has reportedly had trouble maintaining even its regular workforce. Union sources claim that less than 100 union members crossed picket lines and that many newly hired strikebreakers have already quit. Strikers were outraged when a newly hired strikebreaker killed a California picketer by running his bus into him during the first weekend of the strike.

Despite an increase in ridership boosted by inflated air fares, Greyhound made a profit of only \$730,000 on \$1 billion in sales last year, as high interest payments on the takeover debt depressed earnings. "We're the victims of a [leveraged buyout]," laments Local 1222 Executive Board Member Wes Ponsford. If Currey follows the Lorenzo example in dealing with his workers, he may discover that he too is a victim. —D.M.

The Machinists may not be able to win, but Lorenzo seems likely to lose.

nearly 50 cents in cash on each dollar and two 15-percent interest notes—one secured by Eastern's Atlanta facilities, the other backed by Continental. Much to Lorenzo's chagrin, Eastern's creditors finally caught up with the rest of his empire.

Junk bonds—risky, high-interest loans—financed Lorenzo's takeover spree and have fueled his anti-union crusade. But Eastern was a primary victim as the junk-bond market turned sour last fall. Lorenzo attempted to raise \$300 million in junk-bond sales but could only obtain \$70 million for bonds using airplanes as collateral. Only the now-defunct junk-bond giant Drexel Burnham Lambert had helped Lorenzo borrow money, and no

Continued on following page

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Lorenzo

Continued from preceding page

other institution is likely to help him re-finance an estimated \$230 million in junk bonds, due for payment this year. Two big savings and loans in the Drexel network that were major purchasers of Eastern junk bonds—Miami's CenTrust and California's First Executive Corp.—have either been taken over by federal regulators or put under supervision.

- Lorenzo cannot simply jettison Eastern and all of its problems, as he would then face \$1.1 billion in unfunded pension liabilities. Fearing getting stuck with Eastern's financial obligations, the federal Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation could step in at any time to demand payment.

- The indictment of two top Eastern managers, under investigation by a New

York grand jury for deliberately bypassing required maintenance procedures, would seriously hinder any Eastern recovery efforts.

Fast cash à la Trump: While many public authorities such as the bankruptcy court, President George Bush or Congress could have stepped in to resolve the strike and save Eastern from Lorenzo, they appear to buy Lorenzo's claim that removing him would doom the airline and make the unions victorious. Bush, who has close ties to Lorenzo, has refused to intervene despite the success of federally instigated mediation in the Pittston coal strike. The *Miami Review*, a legal journal, charged that New York bankruptcy judge Burton Lifland held unethical private conversations with Eastern attorneys who persuaded him not to appoint a trustee.

Lorenzo is hoping that the proposed sale of Eastern's South American routes to American Airlines will soon be approved and pro-

vide him with enough cash to keep him rolling, much as the sale of the Eastern Shuttle to Donald Trump did last year. But competing airlines, unions and influential institutions like the *Miami Herald* are challenging the sale. Lorenzo reportedly acknowledges two strategic errors: taking on all three unions—the Machinists, the pilots and the flight attendants—at once, and not selling the South American routes earlier.

Meanwhile, the Machinists are trying to persuade Congress to override Bush's veto of the appointment of a blue-ribbon commission to investigate the strike. Swedish and Danish airline unions have offered to help pressure SAS—the Scandinavian carrier that owns 10 percent of Texas Air—if the unions can develop a plan of action. In addition, the Machinists could still mount a boycott against Continental, something many strategists argue should have been done a year ago. □

Germany

Continued from page 3

economists claim that a market economy is the best vehicle for realizing social, ecological and democratic objectives.

New Forum economist Pavel Strohner, for example, sees no contradiction between the free play of market forces and democratic control over economic decisionmaking. "We know that neither a centrally controlled socialist economy nor a capitalist market economy can adequately address people's needs," says Strohner, who is running as a candidate in Rostock. "But a market economy based on human and natural potential, with an outlook toward the future, not just the here and now, can come a lot closer."

The coalition supports the unification process, "but not at any price." A bloc-free Germany and radical disarmament measures are necessary for a stable, peaceful Europe. It calls for concrete legislation, such as the right to work and the right to housing, to protect GDR citizens during the transition to a market economy. According to Strohner, the country needs at least nine months to prepare itself for market competition.

Next to Bündnis 90, the Unified Left and the East-Green Party, joined by the Independent Womens Union, led much smaller coalitions. Hampered by their own as well as the West-Greens' internal disputes over unification policy, the East party "missed the deadline" for participation in Bündnis 90. Although the Greens and Bündnis 90 have very similar programs (the Greens also reject a "left" label), the party's West backing—\$60,000 in cash alone—has more than a few fellow activists miffed. The Greens stress their indigenous roots, but word of a deal with the FRG Realo faction has aroused suspicions about their independence.

The only opposition group with an avowedly socialist platform, the Unified Left recognizes that it is swimming against the tide in the GDR. Across the political spectrum there has been a consensus that there is no alternative between capitalism and Stalinism, argues the coalition of anarcho-Marxists, evangelical socialists and soft Trotskyists. Yet they maintain that an alternative democratic socialism is the only means to realize the progressive goals that the citizens' movement represents.

Thomas Klein, the coalition's top candidate, sees the monopolization of the political sphere through old and new parties as the most dangerous trend of the past months. "The major parties are doing everything they can to restrict democracy to the realm of party politics," says the veteran activist. "It's the only form of democracy that they recognize." The CDU, for example, demands that the citizens' councils disband after the election. "Perhaps next they'll say demonstrations have no place in a parliamentary system," he adds.

Despite the left's isolation, the group intends to fight on against the *anschluss* and the privatization of state property. The sell-out that the West parties are engineering—and the others are simply going along with—is outright theft, argues Klein, and the people will soon realize this.

"I wish it weren't the case, but people are going to have to take to the streets again to protect their rights," he says. "We have no illusions; eventually this must happen. There are no other possibilities now." □

Paul Hockenos covers Eastern Europe for *In These Times*.

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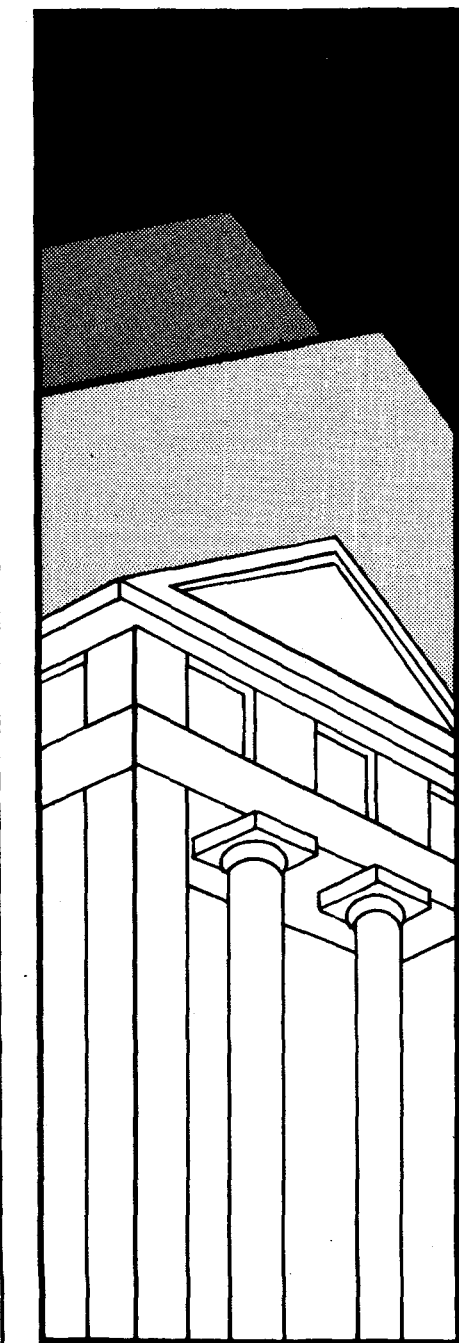
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By Peter Asmus

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Sacramento utility wired for change

THE SACRAMENTO MUNICIPAL UTILITY DISTRICT (SMUD) is shaking up the nation's utility industry with a rate plan that breaks from the pack and shifts the burden of an increase to business customers. The utility, which ranks among the top five publicly owned utilities in the country, is also attracting national attention because of its proposal to convert the recently shut down Rancho Seco nuclear reactor into a solar power plant.

Both of these novel developments are the result of an unlikely alliance between SMUD's most rabid anti- and pro-nuclear board members.

What makes SMUD's rate change so significant is that throughout the '80s utilities, both public and private, delivered rate cuts to industrial customers while hiking residential rates. The rationale for this is that utilities base their rates on the actual costs of providing service and it is cheaper to provide power to large industrial customers than to connect a series of smaller units such as private homes—or so the story goes. Local critics of this theory, however, contend that SMUD's residential ratepayers have actually been subsidizing local businesses, whose rates were kept low to attract economic development to the area.

A SMUD staff proposal for a rate restructuring last December would have cut rates for four of the district's steadiest industrial users while hiking rates for the entire system by 7.5 percent. The SMUD board, however, rearranged the proposal and approved a plan that instead increased residential costs only 2 percent and hiked business rates by 13 percent.

The rate shift's main proponent was SMUD board president Ed Smeloff, a consistent foe of the utility's Rancho Seco nuclear power plant and a longtime progressive activist. Smeloff has made a political career of oppos-

PUBLIC POWER

ing Rancho Seco, the only nuclear reactor wholly owned by a municipal utility. Last June Rancho Seco became the first reactor ever to be closed by a public vote. At one point Smeloff was the only SMUD board member who questioned whether the failing reactor should continue operations. He was also a key player in the successful campaign to close the plant last year.

Smeloff was defeated in his first try for the five-member SMUD board in 1982 due, in part, to mailers that questioned whether he was a communist because of a past affiliation with California Assemblyman Tom Hayden as well as his bachelor's degree in Russian literature. He became a board member in 1986, however, and was handed the presidential gavel three months ago following a surprising political turnaround by former board president Joe Buonaiuto.

Elected to the board by a slim margin in 1988, Buonaiuto wrested the presidency from Smeloff—the expected winner—last year with the help of SMUD's two pro-nuclear board members. Seemingly overnight Buonaiuto abandoned his liberal anti-nuclear constituency and became Rancho Seco's staunchest supporter, aligning himself with pro-nuclear labor activists and the nuclear industry.

Everything has a price: In 1989, after voters defeated a measure to authorize the continued operation of Rancho Seco,

Buonaiuto called for an outside entity to come in and "privatize" the plant, claiming that the election banned only SMUD from operating the reactor.

"The plant is for sale," he announced. "Some group with access to a line of credit could come in and get rich ... pick up a billion-dollar nuke for no money down." Buonaiuto then called for Pacific Gas & Electric to come in and take over the utility because SMUD was "prodigal and unrepentant and hopelessly in debt."

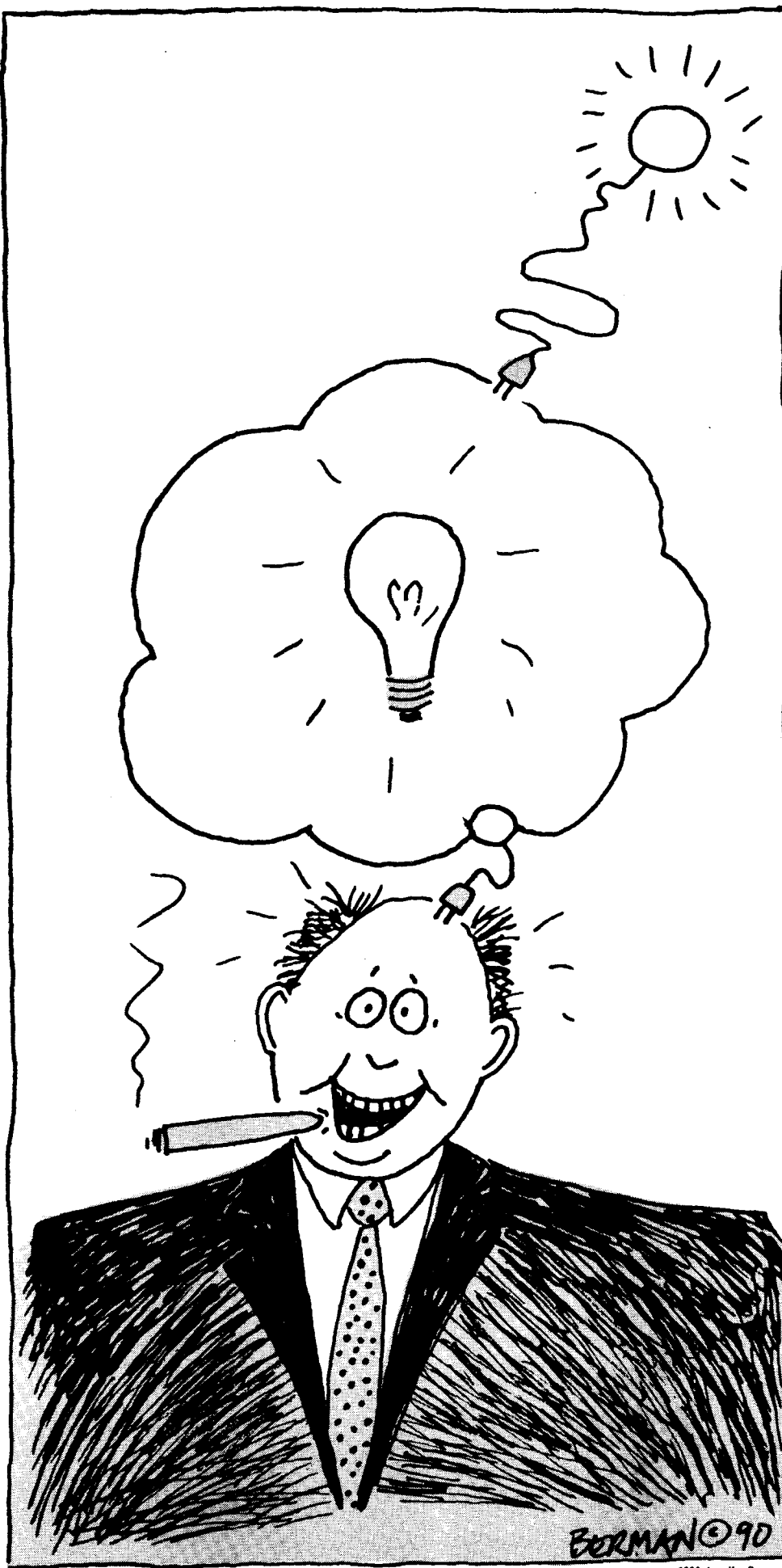
But slowly the hard-line board president's heart began to soften. At an October 1989 meeting Buonaiuto convinced two board members to join him in lending a total of \$300 to a poor woman who appeared before

the group and pleaded that her power be left on even though she couldn't pay her bills.

A few weeks later, Buonaiuto seemed to have a change of heart on the public-power issue, saying, "I think it's time for us to make a real bold statement, to send a message out there that the Chamber of Commerce is no longer running SMUD." He promptly called for drastic rate relief for residential ratepayers.

He then cut a deal with the local Democratic Party to give Smeloff the presidency in exchange for support in his bid to oust Republican Assemblyman Tim Leslie in the November elections.

New deal: The Smeloff agenda is exciting and bold. Perhaps the most remarkable pro-



© 1990 Jennifer Berman

posals is to convert the Rancho Seco nuclear reactor into a solar plant. Smeloff has also endorsed exploring a natural gas conversion, an idea that has attracted three proposals from firms in Connecticut, Michigan and Oregon. But the solar option—according to Smeloff—appears to make the most sense, given local air-quality concerns and required cost upgrades.

A spokesman for the joint U.S.-Israeli venture LUZ International, which runs the world's largest solar electric plants, said the 2,200 acres of land surrounding Rancho Seco could produce 500 megawatts, or more than half the capacity of the nuclear plant. It appears that if a feasible solar project is presented before the board, the votes are there to move forward.

SMUD, one of the largest municipal utilities in the U.S. and located in the nation's most sophisticated energy market, will no doubt continue to generate controversy. Regardless of the political sideshow, Smeloff's

Sacramento's Municipal Utility District gave its rate break to residential customers this time around. The utility board structured the rate hike so area residents would pay a 2 percent increase while businesses pay 13 percent more.

aggressive agenda is refreshing. It is, however, anyone's guess how long SMUD's fragile, progressive board majority can hold out. Many spectators feel the Smeloff-Buonaiuto truce may be fleeting. Others believe that with the nuclear debate behind, SMUD may regain a positive image. Smeloff has supported a name change—Sacramento Public Service—as one cosmetic move toward that end.

Public power, created in the '30s by New Deal socialists and progressives, was prompted by the disdain of private monopolies for serving rural populations. The public-power movement created the Bonneville Power Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

SMUD was once considered a shining example of the virtues of public power. It had among the lowest rates in the country in the '50s. Then along came the Rancho Seco nuclear power plant, which made an auspicious debut by suffering an emergency shutdown during opening day ceremonies. It operated only 38 percent of the time during its 15-year operating history.

Today SMUD is trying to rediscover the value of public power by making residential customers its top priority. Using the democracy inherent in public utilities, SMUD and other municipals may well be leaders in closing the doors to today's fiscal inequities and opening them for tomorrow's energy solutions.

Peter Asmus' book *In Search of Environmental Excellence*, co-authored by Bruce Piasecki, is expected to be published in September.

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Once in office, Violeta Chamorro's new government may suffer from the same lack of administrative experience that plagued the Sandinistas.

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Sandinistas: from revolution to evolution

By David Dye and William Gasperini

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

HOW COULD WE HAVE BEEN SO NAIVE," SAID one teary-eyed Sandinista supporter after hearing the results of the February 25 election in Nicaragua, "as to believe that after all this, the years of aggression, the people would not vote against us? And the worst is that they won cleanly."

Similar reactions of shock and dismay were undoubtedly expressed in tens of thousands of households as supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) discovered the day after the election that their 10-year-old revolutionary government had suffered one of the most stunning electoral reverses of the 20th century.

The dismay only deepened later that morning when their president, Daniel Ortega, made clear in a dignified public appearance that the Sandinista government would turn over office to Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, whose U.S.-backed coalition, the National Opposition Union (UNO), had won a resounding 55 percent of the vote. The once seemingly unthinkable notion that the Sandinistas could be unseated had become a reality.

The Sandinista defeat dealt a major blow to the left in both Latin America and the U.S. It pained pollsters, jolted journalists—in-

cluding *In These Times'* Nicaragua correspondents—and confounded academics with established reputations, the great majority of whom truly believed the Sandinistas simply could not be beaten, even in the age of Mikhail Gorbachov.

The disorientation felt by the Sandinistas in the wake of the "disaster" was only compounded by the ominous realization that the U.S.-sponsored low-intensity conflict policy had succeeded. After undermining the FSLN with war and economic blockade for nearly a decade, the U.S. government had financed Nicaragua's political opposition in free elections and forced the Sandinistas out just when it seemed the administration had resigned itself to an apparent Sandinista victory.

The only way out: After the election, Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry official Sophia Clark said, "Our biggest mistake was never seriously considering the possibility that we

could lose. In agreeing to hold a free election under current economic circumstances, the Sandinista Front was defying the laws of political gravity. Maybe we were simply asking too much of people to overcome 10 years of war and economic crisis. People felt that the only way to stop this was to let Washington's candidate win."

Although desperation over the economic and military situation produced in large part by the U.S. was the major reason behind the upset, Nicaraguans voted for UNO for other reasons as well. Alienation from the government and its programs ran deep, despite official Sandinista assertions that Nicaraguans' high degree of political awareness, developed by the revolutionary process, would make them ignore the precarious economic situation and vote for the FSLN. Inefficient administration, abuses of power and official corruption lent to the perception that those

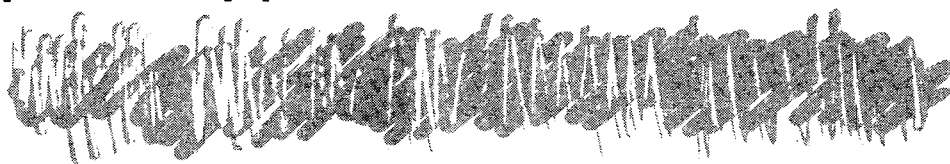
above no longer cared about those below—in other words, the same type of political attrition normally suffered by governments after extended periods in office. Over time, increasing numbers of Nicaraguans lost faith in the FSLN regardless of whether the party was to blame for their problems.

Another major factor was resentment over the content and style of a revolutionary government that interfered in people's daily lives in ways they deemed unacceptable. Nowhere is this more evident than in rural areas, where fear of state security agents runs high amid tensions created by the war.

Sandinista campaign mistakes aggravated this situation. The FSLN's triumphant pre-election declaration of "victory" may have angered voters who resented being taken for granted amid the incessant Sandinista claims that they are "the people." The FSLN's gimmicky, U.S.-style giveaway campaign, deceptively "modern" at the outset, may ultimately have seemed too lavish to poor voters who in the end were unconvinced by the Sandinista slogan that "everything will be better." Moreover, the heavy FSLN campaign to associate UNO with the contras and Somocistas triggered resentment, as the relatively sophisticated population may have believed this was yet another example of the Sandinistas' penchant for branding all opposition "counterrevolutionary."

With both reputable pollsters and an army of campaign advisers telling him he was way

Once Chamorro is in power, the Sandinistas must choose issues carefully in order to avoid the impression that they are obstructing new policies simply for obstruction's sake.



ahead, Ortega chose to forgo last-minute announcements about salary increases and abolition of the unpopular military draft. Ortega reportedly dropped the draft announcement at the Sandinistas' final campaign rally on February 21 when he saw at least 300,000 Nicaraguans jamming into Managua. As it turned out, he desperately needed the votes those announcements most likely would have garnered.

Why was the gap between the actual vote and the polls so wide? U.S. attorney Paul Reichler, who represents the FSLN in international forums such as the World Court, said after the election, "The people told the pollsters what was in their hearts, but when they went into the voting booth they voted with their stomachs." Although this may comfort Sandinista sympathizers, other explanations range from the "fear factor" to peculiarities perhaps only Nicaraguans can truly understand.

"As a Nicaraguan, I could see right through those thousands and thousands of people attending Ortega's rallies and tell you it was a big mistake to assume they'd all be voting for him," said former Managua Mayor and ex-FSLN member Moises Hassan. "Who wouldn't have gone to those events, what with all the excitement and, most importantly, the free handouts?"

UNO adviser Ernesto Palacios agreed, adding, "The Sandinistas finally fell for their own imagery, but the people knew better."

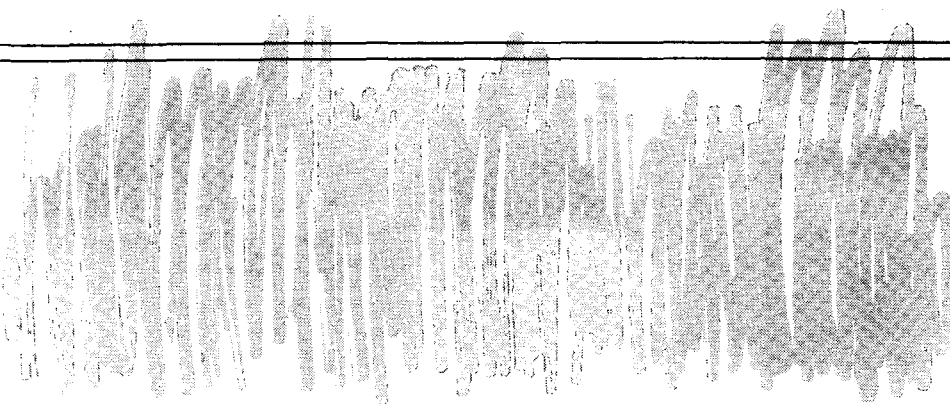
Another explanation is what noted economist Xavier Gorostiaga calls the "güegüense factor," after the mythical figure from Nicaraguan folklore who throws on a mask to dance in the street festivals before assuming his real personality afterward. The day of the election, with even a last-minute ABC-*Washington Post* poll forecasting an easy Ortega win, the Nicaraguan people apparently took off their masks and had the last laugh.

Who will mind the military? Having bet on democracy and lost, the FSLN has no choice but to turn over the reins of government to the UNO and Chamorro. The question is how much real power will it give up when Chamorro takes over on April 25.

The transition is being negotiated by Sandinista Army Gen. Humberto Ortega and Chamorro campaign chief Antonio Lacayo. The talks are not simply about how one party delivers absolute control to the other. In essence, the negotiations are a kind of "pact for democracy" between two recognizable power blocs, not unusual in Latin American countries.

The major issue to be negotiated is the status of Nicaragua's armed forces and Interior Ministry (security police), both controlled by the Sandinistas and whose "integrity and professionalism" President Ortega has vowed must be respected by the new government. He argues that the military they've created is now a national, not a Sandinista, institution. Yet on several occasions Ortega and other Sandinista leaders have hinted that they may not yield control over the military command structure, although they will allow Chamorro to name civilian ministers of defense and interior.

Complicating this issue is the question of contra demobilization before April 25, something the FSLN also insists on as a condition for transition. Although the contras lost the military fight, their leaders now feel vindicated by the opposition's political victory. They want to remain intact until after Chamorro's inauguration and then negotiate their return, perhaps hoping for a role in the



Sandinista opposition will not be confined to the legislature. In classic guerrilla style, FSLN leaders have announced plans to defend "without quarter and from the trenches" what it calls the "conquests of the revolution" against any attempt at dismantling them. In recent public appearances, President Ortega said the FSLN plans to "govern from below," insisting that the adverse vote results do not reflect what the population really thinks.

new military. Current contra commander Israel Galeano ("Franklin") also wants to see the Sandinista army turned into a police force.

So far, Chamorro has taken a constructive position on the contra problem, calling on them to disarm and return home and work "to get Nicaragua producing again." She and Catholic Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo have sent emissaries to talk with the rebels.

But, as ever with the contras, the U.S. position is crucial. Jesuit scholar Xavier Gorostiaga argues that "never has Nicaragua been so close to peace, but never has it been so close to civil war as well," adding that U.S. support for Franklin's position could create a major new crisis, possibly involving the U.S. military if the "hard line" wants to push the Sandinistas to the wall.

Signals from the U.S. have been distressingly mixed. The Bush administration dispatched its own emissaries to the Honduran contra camps after Secretary of State James Baker announced after the election that "the war is over." But a few days later, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney reportedly linked contra surrender to the demobilization of the Sandinista army—a dangerous position that could jeopardize a peaceful transition of power to Chamorro.

Rough road ahead: Since the election, UNO leaders have struck a moderate tone in the delicate negotiations, sensitive to the frayed nerves of many Sandinista supporters. After years of vitriolic denunciations of each other the elections are forcing both sides to approach the coming period from a Nicaraguan, rather than a purely partisan, perspective.

Yet the dangers of the new reality are evident, regardless of how long the honeymoon lasts. Rarely before in the history of modern politics has such a weak government replaced an apparently hegemonic political force.

The unwieldy 14-party coalition had trouble sticking together throughout the campaign, with tensions occasionally surfacing between party leaders and Chamorro's staff and insiders. These tensions will invariably carry over into the new government as she pays off campaign debts with appointments.

The Chamorro government may suffer from the same lack of administrative experience that has plagued the Sandinistas. Because of heavy emigration of professionals and business people over the last 10 years—and uncertain prospects for their return—

the pool of opposition talent is shallow. Ministries may be headed by Nicaraguans who, like the president-elect herself, are inexperienced. And they may be frustrated by limits to their authority imposed by the "transition pact."

The new government's main goal will be to restructure the economy along neoliberal, efficiency-oriented lines, implying wholesale privatization of government enterprises, reductions in the size of the government and credit restrictions to control inflation. Chamorro's key economic adviser, Francisco Mayorga of the Central American business school INCAE, has devised an emergency plan that includes the introduction of a new currency and measures to stimulate sagging production and generate employment.

The political logic of this policy is to undermine the bases of FSLN support in government-run unions and among small farmers and cooperatives in the countryside. Since the election, however, UNO leaders have been careful to say they will not dispossess any peasant or urban dweller from property expropriated by the revolution. Top adviser Alfredo Cesar said that although land claims by previous owners will be compensated through a system of bonds, "no person will be turned out into the street, as happened during the early years under the Sandinistas."

Throughout the countryside, however, wary cooperative members are reportedly stockpiling arms and preparing for the worst. At the very least, the land issue and other possible "rollback" policies will likely prove an issue around which Daniel Ortega can mobilize what he is calling the "constructive but belligerent opposition."

The loyal opposition: Freed of the responsibilities of government, Ortega and other Sandinista leaders will prove formidable UNO foes. Thus the new government will face a dilemma: should it choose the soft line, stressing "national reconciliation" interests, or should it take the hard line, provoking immediate confrontation with the various Sandinista institutions? The latter option would clearly depend on the degree of control the new government has over the police to enforce its decisions. A key strategist and moderating influence thus far is campaign manager (and Chamorro son-in-law) Antonio Lacayo. But others in UNO, including some who lost property, will push for the harder line.

The circumstances are similar to those in India after the 1978 defeat of the firmly entrenched Congress Party by the multiparty Janata coalition. Composed of various weak groups, Janata began squabbling within itself, leading to a government paralysis and the return of the Congress Party. Yet although India's parliamentary system allows for quick elections, Nicaragua is constitutionally barred from having another election until 1996.

Thanks to the constitutional framework set up by the Sandinistas, the National Assembly will now become the central stage for political debate. With 51 seats to the FSLN's 39, UNO will be four short of the 60 percent needed for constitutional reforms, assuming the ungainly coalition stays together once the new government takes office. As a losing presidential candidate, Ortega will have a seat, as will FSLN dissident Moises Massan. (Massan was the only one of eight minor presidential candidates who earned enough votes to win an assembly seat. The smaller Social Christian Party also got two seats from the Atlantic Coast region, due to an agreement with the Miskito Indian organization YATAMA.)

Although defeated, the FSLN remains Nicaragua's largest and best-organized political party, allowing it to block attempts at constitutional reforms.

The Supreme Court also will remain a bastion of Sandinismo for at least the next three and a half years since Ortega appointed the justices for fixed terms that cannot be changed at Chamorro's whim. They will doubtless be sympathetic to legal challenges against what the FSLN considers its—and "the people's"—interests.

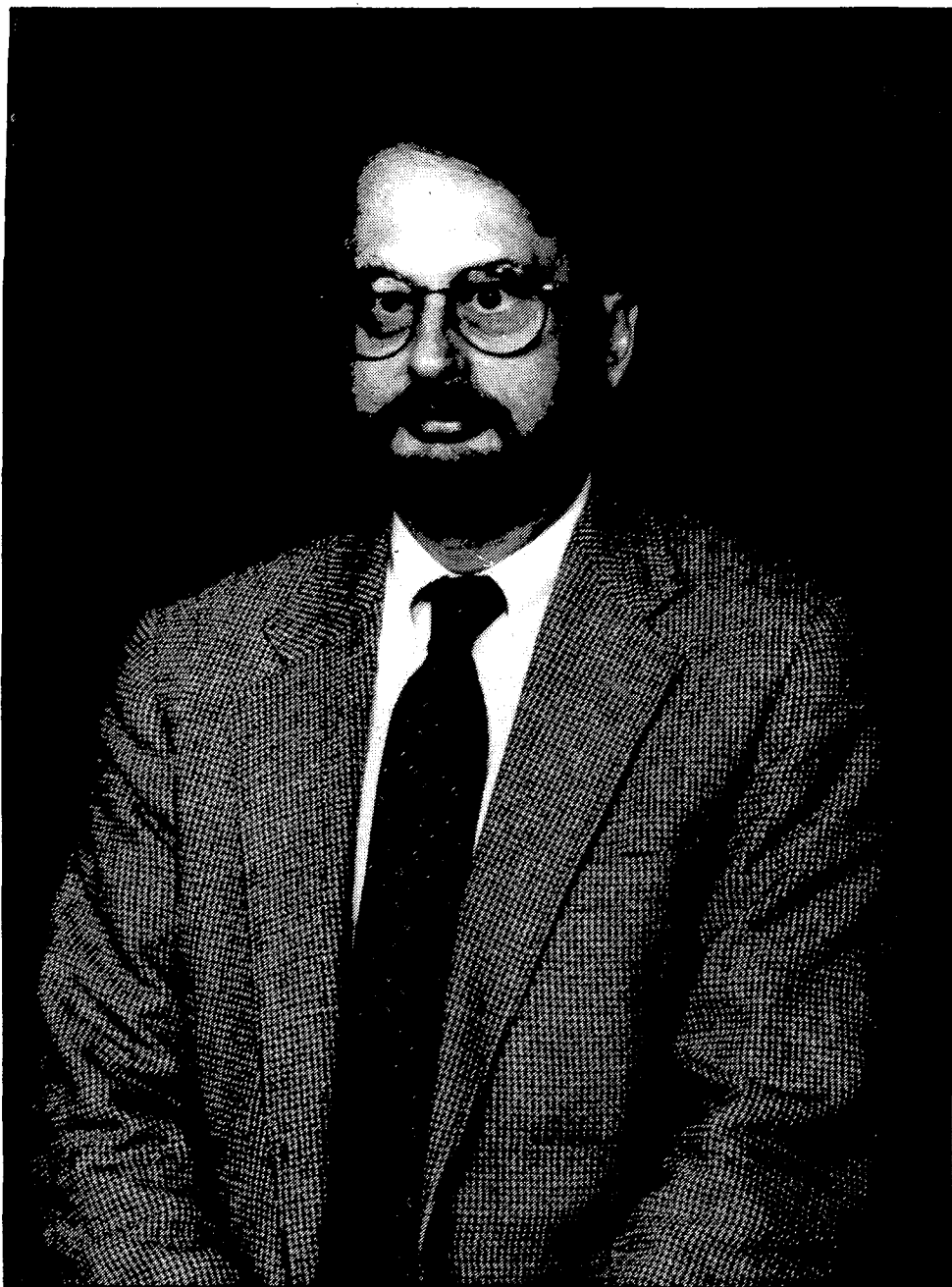
But Sandinista opposition will not be confined to the legislature. In classic guerrilla style, FSLN leaders have announced plans to defend "without quarter and from the trenches" what it calls the "conquests of the revolution" against any attempt at dismantling them. In recent public appearances, President Ortega said the FSLN plans to "govern from below," insisting that the adverse vote results do not reflect what the population really thinks.

The battles will be fought among the strong FSLN bases in factories, unions, workplaces and neighborhoods through strikes, negotiation and neighborhood mobilization. For example, if UNO tries to close many state-subsidized factories as "inefficient," Sandinista union leader Lucio Jimenez said that "we will attempt to negotiate, but if that doesn't work we'll use force by taking the plants over." At that juncture, control over the police will again be crucial, Jimenez said. "The police are our friends—they're the same fellows who fought with us in the insurrection."

Depending on the outcome of the "transition pact," the transference of power could run smoothly—if all sides concur that they must avoid direct confrontation for the country's greater good. And despite its strengths, the FSLN will wage an uphill battle. Clever governments can do a lot to undermine their opponents subtly, and the Sandinistas must choose issues carefully to avoid the impression that they are obstructing new policies simply for obstruction's sake. The Sandinistas have the capacity to create a situation in which they are effectively co-governing "from below." But if not, Nicaragua could rapidly fall into chaos.

The expectations generated by Chamorro's

Continued on page 20



Paleocon Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles*, recently accused neocons of trying to create a new "elite class that will share power with the left."

The War at Home

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

LIKE OLD BLANKETS, POLITICAL MOVEMENTS begin to fray first around the edges. The final collapse of post-World War II liberalism, which didn't occur until the late '70s, was foreshadowed by the collapse of the new left a decade before. Similarly, the collapse of post-war conservatism is foreshadowed in the internecine squabbles and ideological confusion that have beset the individuals and organizations of the far right.

The infighting has become endemic, involving traditional conservatives and new conservatives, political consultants, foundations and academics. They cannot agree on any major issue, from trade to abortion. And there is no longer an acknowledged leader like Barry Goldwater or Ronald Reagan who can unite the warring camps.

Neocons vs. paleocons: The nastiest split, which goes back to the early '80s, is between the traditional conservatives, dubbed the "paleoconservatives," and the former Democrats, called the "neocon-

servatives." While the paleocons charge that the neocons are not really conservatives, but rather welfare-state liberals and Wilsonian internationalists, the neocons charge that the paleocons are restoring what author Richard John Neuhaus calls the "forbidden bigotries once confused with conservatism."

The feud between the two groups broke out in 1982 when the paleocons backed University of Dallas scholar M. E. Bradford to be chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the neoconservatives backed William Bennett, now the nation's director of drug-control policy. Besides patronage, the differences boiled down to civil rights: Bradford, the more credible scholar, was an anti-Lincoln, pro-Confederate former George Wallace supporter, while Bennett was a former Democrat and civil-rights activist. But the paleocons proved no match for the neocons, who marshaled the Washington media in their favor.

But at conservative meetings, the paleocons used their movement pedigree to ad-

vantage. At a 1986 meeting of the Philadelphia Society, chaired by Bradford, the paleocon speakers characterized the neocons as "interlopers" who were opportunistically trying to dominate the conservative movement and the Reagan administration. University of Michigan historian Stephen Tonsor declared in a speech, "It is splendid when the town whore gets religion and joins the church. Now and then she makes a good choir director, but when she begins to tell the minister what he ought to say in his Sunday sermons, matters have been carried too far."

The two factions differed on foreign as well as domestic policy. The paleocons were neo-isolationists, opposed to foreign aid and involvement except where U.S. interests were directly threatened, while the neoconservatives were global democrats who believed that America's mission should be to spread free-market capitalism and parliamentary democracy around the world, by force if necessary.

A particular sticking point between the two sides was Israel. The paleocons accused the neocons of subordinating America's national interest to Israel's. The dispute over Israel quickly took on anti-New York and anti-Semitic undertones. In October 1988, paleocon Russell Kirk, the author of the 1954 movement classic *The Conservative Mind*, attacked the neocons' commitment to Israel in a speech at the Heritage Foundation. "Not seldom it has seemed as if some eminent neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the U.S.—a position they will have difficulty in maintaining as matters drift," Kirk said.

Until last spring, however, the two sides saw themselves as feuding factions within the same movement. Their hostile co-existence was symbolized by neoconservative Neuhaus's connection with the paleoconservative Rockford Institute in Rockford, Ill. Under Rockford's name and funding, Neuhaus published a regular newsletter out of his Center for Religion and Society in New York. But a series of incidents caused an open break between the Rockford Institute and Neuhaus and a full declaration of war between the factions.

In March 1989, Neuhaus and *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz took strong exception to two articles published in Rockford's glossy journal *Chronicles*. In one of them, *Chronicles* editor Thomas Fleming called for stricter quotas to prevent the U.S. from "being dominated by Third World immigrants," and in the other article novelist Bill Kauffman defended Gore Vidal, who had earlier attacked Podhoretz for putting Israel's interests before America's. Podhoretz then wrote to Neuhaus: "I know an enemy when I see one, and *Chronicles* has become just that so far as I am concerned."

Last May, the Rockford Institute made the next move by locking Neuhaus out of the center and confiscating his files. While he claimed that the lockout was politically motivated, Rockford Institute officials charged Neuhaus with misusing institute funds. When Neuhaus left, three foundations linked to the neocons—Olin, Smith Richardson and Bradley—withdrawed their funding for the Rockford Institute. Fleming claims that over the last year the Neuhaus battle has cost Rockford \$700,000 in grants.

In the aftermath, both sides also began firing angry polemics at each other. In the

September issue of *Chronicles*, Fleming accused the neocons of wanting to expand rather than reduce government and of trying to create a new "elite class that will share power with the left." "The American people, in their view," he wrote, "must be willing to bear any burden, pay any price in carrying on a crusade for global democracy, eliminating all trade barriers and opening the country to unrestricted immigration."

This month, Neuhaus fired back in the first issue of his new journal *First Things*. The paleocons, Neuhaus wrote, "are at war with modernity. Theirs tends to be a patrician view of republican governance conducted by men of tested genetic stock. ... With Henry Adams a century ago and Gore Vidal today, they believe that modernity and her rapacious consorts, democracy and capitalism, have sold America into bondage to immigrant newcomers."

Neuhaus accused Fleming and the paleocons of reviving "forbidden bigotries." "One notes renewed attempts to invite back into the conservative movement a list of uglies that had long been consigned to the fevered swamps," he wrote. "The list includes nativism, racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, a penchant for authoritarian politics and related diseases of the *ressentiment* that flourishes on the marginalia of American life."

Buckley vs. Weyrich: To rally conservatives against the paleo threat, Neuhaus organized a dinner meeting at New York's Union League Club on January 22. He invited most of the East Coast conservative elite, including *National Review* editor in chief William F. Buckley, Jr., *Public Interest* editor Irving Kristol, Podhoretz, former State Department official Elliott Abrams, Heritage Foundation President Edwin J. Feulner and Paul Weyrich, the president of the Coalitions for the Americas.

For six hours participants debated the future of the conservative movement, demonstrating in the end that they were as divided as the paleocons and the neocons. Those differences were epitomized in position papers presented by Buckley and Weyrich. Both began with the premise that the movement had to move beyond its former anti-Communist moorings, but they offered diametrically opposed directions for conservatives. Buckley, aside from his McCarthyite anti-Communism, has always been a Tory libertarian. In his position paper he called on conservatives to defend the free market and free trade and to "beware of the inclination to side with the executive in matters of dispute over public policy."

Buckley urged conservatives to consider legalizing drugs ("It is a duty of conservatives to give running attention to the loss of derivative liberties as a result of the general mayhem caused by traffic in illegal drugs," he wrote) and to take a prudent rather than rigidly principled view of abortion. "Conservatives must once again be willing to listen, and to accommodate themselves to reasonable moral compromises," he argued.

Weyrich, a former Wallace supporter from Racine, Wis., has always been an authoritarian populist. Weyrich, who proposed tax breaks for working families, displayed concern for average Americans and skepticism about the free market that was totally absent from Buckley's proposal.

But Weyrich also advanced autocratic measures to stem what he called the "cul-

tural breakdown." For instance, to combat crime, he proposed that college scholarships be contingent upon service in police ROTC forces and that high school students be banded together "into platoons under military leadership to undertake direct, non-violent action in support of the civil police." To combat drugs, Weyrich proposed more police, stiffer penalties and what he called "drug contamination." "The DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration] should contaminate drugs with a substance that makes users wretchedly ill, preferably with distinctive symptoms."

He stood firm on abortion. Abortion, Weyrich wrote, "is the symbol for a cultural cleavage between those with a sense of community and responsibility and the votaries of imperial individualism ... those who accept our culture and those who want to tear it down."

Participants at the Union League meeting could not agree on abortion or the importance of Weyrich's cultural conservatism. They differed on the importance of foreign policy and of American commitment to democratic revolution ("The safety of our own nation is of paramount concern, and the strategic relevance of other nations to that concern has to be the operative consideration," Buckley wrote). And, of course, they disagreed with Buckley on legalizing drugs and restraining the imperial presidency.

Socialists vs. traitors: Conservatives in Washington have suffered from a kind of overproduction crisis caused by the spread of organizations and consultants during the Reagan years. Currently there are too many conservative leaders and too few followers and funders, which has led to bitter turf battles.

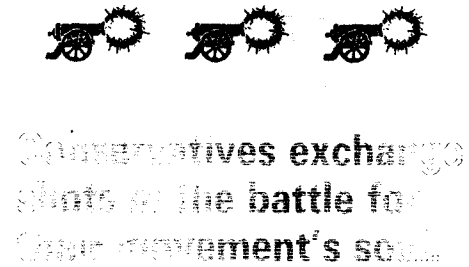
Since the mid-'70s, for instance, conservatives have flocked every year to Washington for the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), which is sponsored by the American Conservative Union (ACU), the Young Americans for Freedom, the conservative *Human Events* and *National Review*.

But last fall, disillusioned with ACU Chairman David Keene's management of the 1989 CPAC conference, Weyrich, Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media, and Morton Blackwell, president of the Leadership Institute, held a counter conference called the Conservative Leadership Conference. Weyrich, Irvine and Blackwell then boycotted this year's CPAC conference, held March 1-3 at Washington's Shoreham Hotel. The differences were not about ideology—the two conferences had virtually the same agenda—but about clout within the movement.

There are also major political splits within Washington's conservative community. The most significant is over trade and foreign investment—the key issues of the '90s. The old-right Business and Industrial Council, which draws its inspiration from the right's isolationist and protectionist past and derives its funding from conservative Southern and Midwestern businessmen, has joined the AFL-CIO in pressing for an aggressive American trade strategy and for regulation of foreign investment. Although opposing minimum wage and labor-law reform legislation, the Council has also backed rudimentary forms of industrial policy.

On the other hand, organizations like the Heritage Foundation and the American En-

terprise Institute have opposed any government measures to open foreign markets, protect American industries or regulate foreign investment. Their position reflects both an application of conservative free-market doctrine to the world economy and the growing dependence of Washington foundations on Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese contributions. The Heritage Foundation is reportedly heavily funded by South Korean business.



This division over trade and investment has sparked heated exchanges in conservative circles. Heritage officials have accused anti-New Dealer Anthony Harrigan, the president of the Business and Industrial Council, of being a socialist, while officials of the Business and Industrial Council have charged Heritage with selling out to foreign interests. The dispute prompted one of Heritage's earliest financial backers, textile magnate Roger Milliken, to reduce his contribution because of Heritage's free-trade position.

The dispute between Heritage and the Council roughly parallels that between the paleocons and the neocons. While Heritage has sided with the neocons, the Council's Harrigan wrote an article for the January *Chronicles* attacking multinationals. But neither Heritage nor the Council have become embroiled in the seamier sides of the Fleming-Neuhaus dispute.

Moon stumbles: While the discord grows, institutions backed by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church are playing an increasingly prominent role in Washington conservative politics. Over the last five years the *Washington Times* has become the conservative publication of record, eclipsing both *Human Events* and *National Review*. At this year's CPAC, the most prominent display outside the ballroom was from the Unification Church-backed American Freedom Coalition (AFC). And with the folding of the Moral Majority and the collapse of Conservative Union into a Washington letterhead group, the AFC is probably the only remaining national grass-roots organization on the right.

Although many conservatives are embarrassed by the church's prominence in their movement, few are ready to do anything about it. *National Review* planned, but then put off, an article critical of the church's role. The Heritage Foundation has relaxed its rules about participation by staff and fellows in Moon-backed events and organizations.

For their part, however, Moon and his church have done little publicly to arouse controversy. They have not held any mass weddings in the U.S. since 1982, and they hide rather than advertise their role in the *Washington Times* and the AFC. And like the conservative movement itself, they appear to be stumbling in the dark, looking for a new political agenda to complement

their financial-theological agenda.

The Unification Church's politics used to be based on anti-Communism, but Moon has recently made overtures to both Chinese and Soviet leaders. His principal anti-Communist organization, CAUSA, is floundering, lacking funds as well as direction. And both the AFC and the *Washington Times* appear to reflect the eccentricities of their appointed leaders as much as that of the church. The *Times'* current obsession, for instance, is pillorying Dr. Elizabeth Morgan, who remains locked in an ugly child-custody battle.

Incompatible hypotheses: The basic cause of the conservative malaise is the disappearance of the social conditions and political conflicts that initially inspired the post-war conservative movement. For the last three decades, conservative leaders were united by fear of a world communist takeover, support for free-market capitalism and opposition to the welfare state and cosmopolitan social mores.

The Cold War's end has left conservatives without a cause that unites the different factions. If anything, conservatives are now divided between revisionists—like former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick—who believe the Cold War is over and the nostalgic stalwarts—like Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC)—who insist that Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachov is merely retreating be-

fore staging a new offensive.

At the recent CPAC conference, Kirkpatrick had to fend off pathetic questions from an audience that was unwilling to abandon its old-time religion. Consider the following exchange.

Question: "A couple of years ago I took your advice and read the book *Perestroika* by Mikhail Gorbachov in which Lenin is quoted on very page, and *Perestroika* is the very essence of Leninism. ... The reforms which he advocates are simply consistent with Lenin's New Economic Policy as a tactical way of strengthening Soviet power in the world."

Kirkpatrick: "Your comment on Gorbachov's book is one I made myself, but I believe that Gorbachov's own thinking and policy have substantially changed since then. I believe that a number of Gorbachov's policies are not consistent with basic Leninist dogmas about the role of the party."

Question: "You also have not commented on President Gorbachov's attempt to consolidate power in his presidency. ... You don't think he can become a greater totalitarian?"

Kirkpatrick: "No. If you look at the totality of his policies, it is simply not compatible with that hypothesis."

Conservatism has been equally shaken

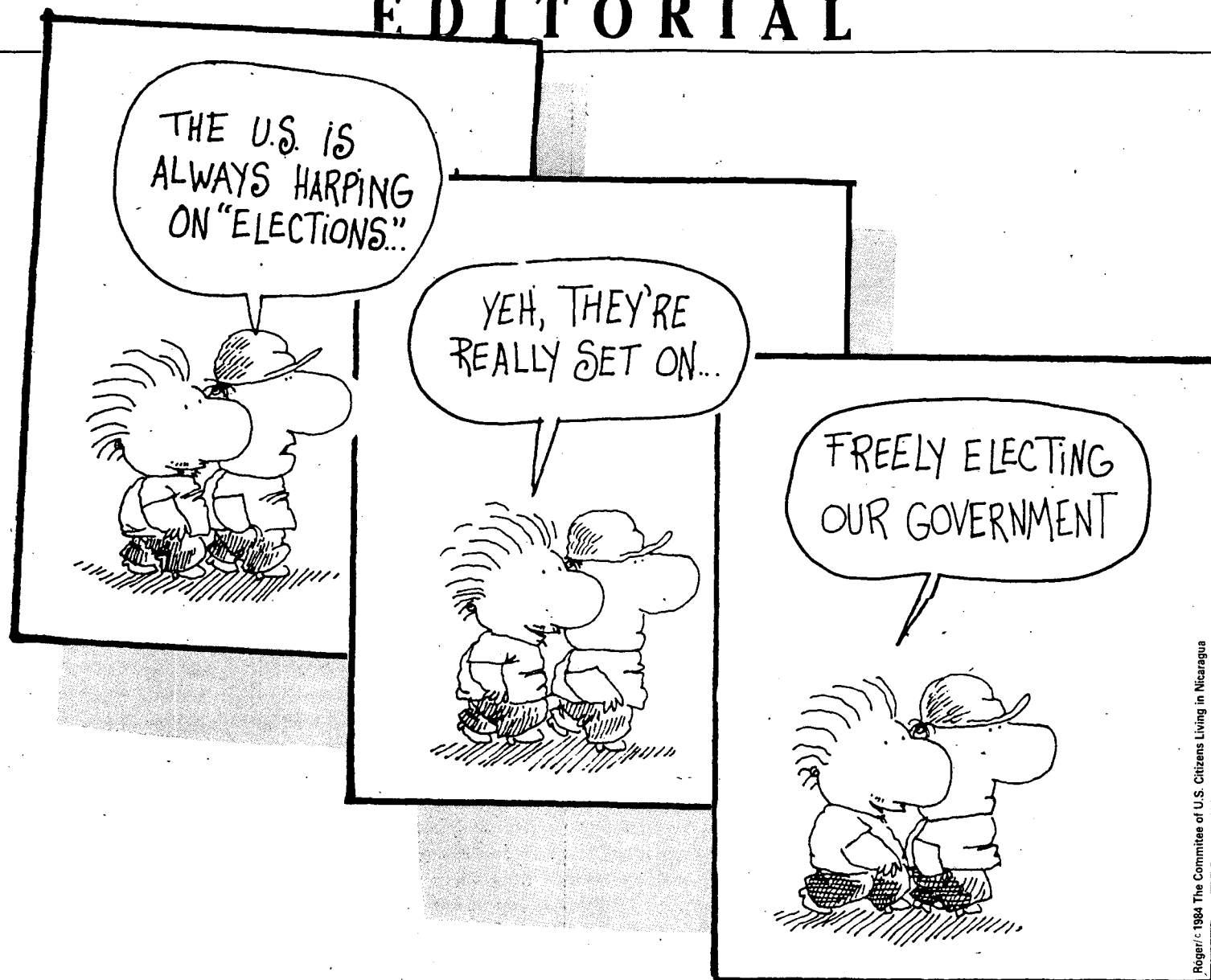
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Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick says her thinking, like Mikhail Gorbachov's, has changed recently.



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EDITORIAL



Ortega's defeat doesn't end Nicaraguan history

The defeat of Daniel Ortega two weeks ago surprised most people and shocked those on the left. The U.S. media and the Bush administration, of course, have joyously gloated over Ortega's defeat and Violeta Chamorro's election, calling it a victory for democracy and a repudiation of the basic principles upon which the Sandinistas built their revolution. But in fact, Chamorro's triumph had little to do with democracy, except that it came in the form of an election.

The victory was not democracy's but that of a superpower intent on crushing the attempt of one of its empire's lesser provinces to achieve genuine independence and self-determination. This was done by the Reagan and Bush administrations with a combination of proxy war, economic embargo and relentless pressure on their client states in Central America that destroyed Nicaragua's economy and compromised Sandinista promises of a pluralist society and a better life.

For many if not most of those who supported UNO in the election, the issue was not one of political principle—of socialism vs. capitalism—or of national sovereignty. Nicaraguans understood all too well that Ortega's re-election would mean a continuation of the embargo and the possibility of continued war and a militarized state. And they hoped that an UNO victory would mean an end to armed conflict, a resumption of normal trade and an influx of U.S. foreign aid. Quite rationally, most of them chose an end to hyperinflation, shortages and terrorism over thwarted Sandinista principles and frustrated sovereignty.

Not only for the Sandinistas but for all who believe that Nicaragua should be free to determine its own destiny, the election of Chamorro is a sad defeat. Yet it does not necessarily signal the end of Nicaragua's movement toward independence and a true democracy, nor is it an unmitigated disaster. Like the nominally socialist governments in Eastern Europe when faced with a clear expression of popular opposition in recent months, the Sandinistas have shown that they are willing to give up control of the government peacefully. Such transfers of power by nominally socialist governments were thought to be all but impossible only months ago. Yet this willingness is the essence of democracy and is much more fundamental than the charade of "free elections" conducted by client govern-

ments of other countries who make up the provinces of empire.

The fate of the Sandinistas is not like that of Eastern Europe's Communist parties, which were despised and driven from office by a nearly unanimous popular demand. The Sandinistas retain substantial popular support and remain the largest single political party. With 39 out of 91 seats in the National Assembly, they have enough votes to protect the basic reforms that are embodied in Nicaragua's revolutionary constitution. And they have institutional strength in civil society, as well as control of the army, which should prevent the UNO government from using military force to reduce Nicaragua to its former semi-colonial status. The country's future will now be determined by internal political struggles that pit a socialist-oriented party against an array of pro-capitalist parties enjoying substantial support from the United States.

For the time being, at least, this contest should go on without the danger of military intervention from the North, and therefore on something close to level ground. In short, this is not the end of history for Nicaragua but the beginning of a new and unprecedented phase in the struggle for self-determination and democracy. ■

Diana Johnstone takes a partial leave

Diana Johnstone, who has been our European editor for more than 10 years, is taking a partial, and we hope short-term, leave of absence to become the press representative for the Green Party delegations to the European Parliament. For us, this means that Diana will appear less frequently in our pages—we expect it to be once every four weeks—as a columnist writing exclusively for *In These Times*. For Diana, this is an opportunity to experience European politics in a new and stimulating way and to increase her already vast knowledge of European society from the inside of an important institution. We have mixed feelings about this development. There is no one writing for us whom we value more highly or from whom we have learned more. Yet we share Diana's excitement over this opportunity to learn and to expand her horizons so that when she returns to writing for us every week she will be better than ever. ■

IN THESE TIMES

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LETTERS

Abusing the abused I

ALEXANDER COCKBURN'S ARTICLE ON THE McMartin child-abuse case (ITT, Feb. 14) is exactly the kind of "progressive" thinking that alienates women from the left. Why is it that a male can stand on the side of oppressed people all over the world (half of whom are women) but when it becomes a gender issue be completely antiquated and hold fast to the power that comes from having a phallus in this patriarchal culture?

Yes, sometimes people do go to jail unjustly convicted. This happens with all crimes. But life isn't always fair, especially to victimized children who can't tell anyone because their whole survival depends on the good wishes of their caretakers. Most child-abuse cases do not come to court unless there is strong physical evidence, mainly because children are incoherent and easily intimidated. From what we've read and heard about the McMartin pre-school case, the jurors were convinced that abuse took place but the initial mishandling of the case is what eventually got the Buckeys released from their 1,200 allegations.

Adult males do feel sanctioned by society to own the bodies of their wives, girlfriends and children. This notion leaves in its wake the shocking statistic that one out of four female and one out of 10 male children are reported molested. Being victimized mostly by men and then victimized again by a society that condones this behavior teaches all people at a very early age who has the power in society, and the many ways that power is protected.

That Cockburn minimizes sexual abuse and considers it a way for adult survivors to blame their screwed-up lives on someone else is the ultimate in victim blaming. If the women's movement has indeed revealed the crippling incidence of child abuse, we are proud.

SisterSerpents
Chicago

Abusing the abused II

ALEXANDER COCKBURN (ITT, FEB. 14) CAVALIERLY dismisses the realities of sexual abuse and the usefulness of therapy in one fell swoop. I challenge him to document what experience he has that enables him to so utterly discredit the experiences of millions of women and men—some of whom, naturally, are among your readers.

It's wonderful, when you think about it. Here's this guy who knows everything about being a feminist and dealing with sexual-abuse issues and, because we're too unaware to figure it out ourselves, he's going to tell us where we're coming up short. Great. Just what we've been waiting for.

Feminists are aware that women are occasionally offenders in sexual abuse, owing to the presence in our midst of those who have experienced it. Many more of us had mothers who stood by and did nothing while our fathers or other male relatives abused us. For some of us, the fear of becoming such people ourselves is one of the things that moves us to speak out about abuse, join survivors' groups or get therapy. Cockburn's remark that "Everyone likes to claim they were 'abused' as a child" is ridiculous and insulting. His remarks sound frighteningly similar to what my father said to me when I confronted him about his having

sexually abused me. It is convenient for people who would like to persist in denial to nurture such attitudes. But who is served by finding them in the pages of your newspaper?

Beverly Hoffman Woods
Woodsville, N.H.

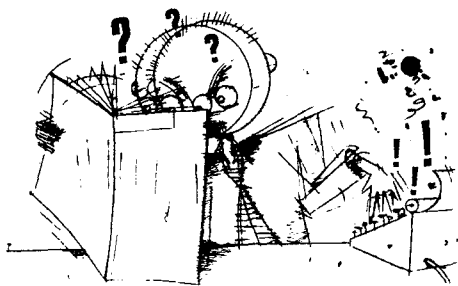
Cynical

I WAS PERTURBED BY DIANA JOHNSTONE'S VIRulent anti-Armenian sentiments (ITT, Jan. 31). Her bias is revealed by statements like "the Armenians ... famous [italics mine] primarily as victims of Turkish genocide in 1915." Her attitude reminds me of the Azerbaijani officials who "congratulated" Armenia on the occasion of the December 1988 earthquake. Johnstone presented the Azerbaijani point of view well but did not seek some balance by quoting a single Armenian source.

Johnstone seeks to portray the current Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict as a Christian-Moslem or East-West conflict. It is neither. At issue here are the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian majority in Nagorno ("mountainous" in Russian)-Karabagh to self-determination. After close to 70 years of discrimination and cultural suppression following Stalin's awarding of the territory to Azerbaijan in 1923, in the spirit of *glasnost* they peacefully demanded reunification with the Armenian Republic. The violent Azerbaijani response to their demands led to the latest bloodbath.

The Azerbaijanis believe that the way to resolve the "Armenian problem" is to depopulate their republic of all Armenians, as they have done previously in Nakhichevan and Gandzha (Kirovabad). These areas had mixed ethnic populations at the start of the 20th century but now are essentially devoid of Armenians. The Azerbaijani Popular Front appears to espouse Pan-Turanism, the aspiration to create a unified Turkish "homeland" (Turan) stretching from Anatolia to Central Asia. Its realization depends on eliminating all non-Turkish populations from the area. Thus the recent attacks in Baku on Russians and Jews as well as on Armenians. This philosophy was spread to Azerbaijan by the Committee of Union and Progress, the junta in power in Ottoman Turkey at the onset of World War I. The leaders of this junta depopulated Turkish Armenia of all its Armenian population, roughly 1.5 million, in the years 1915-18.

The "large, well-organized [Armenian] diasporas in the West" that Johnstone refers to are descendants of the survivors of the 1915 Armenian genocide in Ottoman Turkey. To expect them to stay silent or "try



to play a peacemaking role" while their brethren in Azerbaijan are threatened with the fate that befell their own ancestors is as cynical as it is ridiculous.

Sarkis M. Nazarian, M.D.
Little Rock, Ark.

Cart before the horse

FRED HALLIDAY'S CLAIM (ITT, JAN. 31) THAT THE disputed Karabagh enclave in Azerbaijan was never Armenian puts the cart before the horse. Not only Karabagh but most of today's Azerbaijan plus the eastern half of Turkey was historic Armenia for millennia. The last king fled to England in 1379 when the Turks took full control.

Armenian civilization appeared 600 years B.C. It is one of the oldest Indo-European nations to originate near Mt. Ararat. In Karabagh there are remains of ancient castles and early churches. (Armenia became the first nation to adopt Christianity in 264 A.D. under King Tiradates.)

With the Mongol-Turk invasions during the Middle Ages, Armenia became a captive nation experiencing pogroms and massacres by the Moslem Turks. This climaxed in the genocide of World War I, 1915-22. My maternal grandfather was a survivor of the 1896 massacres under Sultan Abdul Hamid II and my father a survivor of the 1915 horrors.

Ottoman, Seljuk, Mongol and Azeri Turks all originated in Turkestan in Central Asia, where they were nomadic warriors. They came west first led by Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. (Azeris are descendants of Tamerlane.) It is the Turkic peoples who are the usurpers. The Armenians, as most historians know, are the natives in this area.

Some Armenian towns now in Azerbaijan still retain Armenian names, such as Getashen, Shumyan, and Nakhichevan (which means "town of Noah" in Armenian), where Noah supposedly settled. After the exterminations by Ottoman and Azeri Turks (1915-20), only tiny Soviet Armenia, saved by Soviet troops, was left. However, Stalin sliced off more Armenian land in 1923, giving Nakhichevan in the west to Azeri Turks, creating one of his many artificial nations,

Nakhichevan Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, and then Karabagh. Armenians are asking for Karabagh back only because the majority of people there are still Armenian. In the other regions, such as Nakhichevan, they have long been exterminated.

Perestroika gave Armenians short-lived hope. The Azeris reacted with pogroms in Sumgait in 1988. Today there are only 3 million Armenians, nearly surrounded by Moslem Turks. There are 50 million Turks in Turkey and 15 million Azeri Turks in both Iran and Turkey itself. Another 70 million Turks live in Central Asia.

Diana Johnstone, in her companion article, insinuates that Armenians started the recent Karabagh conflict simply by asking the Soviets to return it.

She states it was evicted Azeris who rampaged, committing pogroms in retaliation. True enough. What she didn't mention was that, prior to the Baku pogroms, the Azeris committed murders and atrocities in Sumgait and other Azeri regions in 1988. They killed nearly a thousand people. Pregnant women were cut open in hospitals where Armenian patients were hunted down. Those Armenians left were evicted. Then, and only then, did Armenia evict its Azeri citizens.

Like the Jews, Armenians have always been historical victims threatened with extermination. Unlike other old civilizations such as the Assyrians, Babylonians and Sumerians, Armenians have managed miraculously to hang on by a thread. Media misnomers such as "blood feud" and "ethnic clashes" are distortions of the real story of Armenia, which still needs to be told. Modern historians have too long neglected this chapter of history.

Revisionist scholars have succeeded in blurring the cultural history of Armenia as well as the forgotten genocide. There is now only a handful of aging Armenian survivors left.

It was a Turkish neighbor who warned my father what was about to happen, thus saving my father's life. And reports from Baku during the latest outrages told of brave Azeris who saved some Armenian families. The answer to the Karabagh question is to address injustice long smoldering.

Tomas Azarian
Plainfield, Vt.

Blind rage

BRAVO! TO SUSAN J. DOUGLAS FOR "MULTIPLE Gorbasmms" (ITT, Jan. 24). *Time* magazine's pretentious and self-important style has always grated on me—especially when they capitalize "titles" like Deposed Military Strongman or Crazy Gun-Toting Criminal.

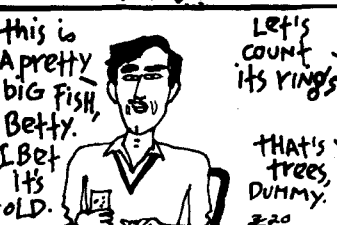
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SYLVIA

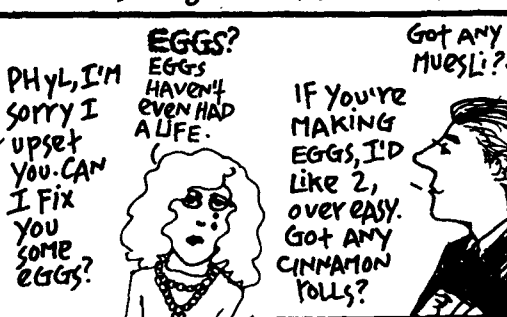
My Last Brunch



BOB turned to me and said in a deceptively innocent voice: "DID YOU KNOW THAT THE LONGER A FISH LIVES, THE MORE TOXINS IT STORES?"



I SAID: "THERE'S NOTHING to WORRY ABOUT, this FISH died IN HIS PRIME." PHYLLIS began sobbing AND refused to eat.



LETTERS

Continued from preceding page

The "Man of the Decade" issue propelled me into fits of blind rage every time I saw it. Susan J. Douglas did a beautiful job putting into words exactly why it did so.

John Mitchell
Reading, Mass.

Spit, piss and Garner

YOUR REVIEW OF THE DAN QUAYLE QUIZ BOOK (ITT, Feb. 7) opened with the supposed quote of Lyndon Johnson that "the vice presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm spit."

Johnson may have said this, but it wasn't his original quote. And the quote is wrong.

It refers to what John Nance Garner, Franklin D. Roosevelt's vice president, said about the job way back in the '30s, but take note that the press, with its euphemisms, has deprived the quote of its barnyard originality. John Garner, a rugged ranch type also from Texas, made the original quote while LBJ was still a minor congressman. Garner said: "The vice presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm horse piss."

"Spit" would be a far too genteel term for ol' John!

It always bothers me to read the misquote, for some reason. I was around in the '30s and remember it well. In this dandified and more sinister time, in my mind the mis-

quote lacks the true punch of the original.

Raymond E. Banks
Torrance, Calif.

Blind eye?

IN MY READINGS ON GERMAN UNIFICATION AND IN recent interviews with Social Democratic Party and German trade union members, I have found a broad consensus on the issue. The fundamentally democratic pressures for unification in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are clearly irresistible; only the forms that unification will take and disputes over the reach of the NATO treaty remain at issue.

In this connection, Diana Johnstone's dispatches seem to reflect her own reservations rather than the real trends. In her dispatch titled "German reunification on issue of reunification" (ITT, Feb. 21), she assigns a weight to the views of the Greens that these views do not possess, while barely mentioning the vastly more important differences in views among the leading Social Democrats.

She also distorts the article on Gregor Gysi, the leader of the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS) in the GDR, in the German mass-circulation weekly *Der Spiegel*. Contrary to Johnstone, not the slightest innuendo concerning Gysi's partly Jewish ancestry can be discerned in the article. The article's initial sentence, quoting a slogan of Leipzig demonstrators, "Lies have short legs; Gysi, show us yours," directly bears on its content, as well as on the concerns of the demonstrators:

Gysi had earlier assured demonstrators in Berlin that the security of the state is best assured by lawfulness—and not by the secret police. Yet he showed himself reluctant to see the secret police dissolved, and the Modrow regime attempted to reorganize it into an organ for the protection of the constitution—an attempt that fell through. Hence the distrust of Gysi. The *Spiegel* article was chiefly concerned with the continued great economic power of the SED and the efforts, led by Gysi, to safeguard it. The facts it cites are neither quoted nor disputed by Johnstone.

Johnstone also refers to Gysi's past legal defense of oppositionists in the GDR as having been "quickly forgotten." But the *Spiegel* article refers extensively to these actions and features photographs of those who benefited by Gysi's defense, such as Baerbel Bohley, Rainer Eppelman and Rudolph Bahro.

Johnstone also misreads the motivations that cause people in the GDR to migrate to West Germany. If they lack freedom of choice, given the economic situation in the East, it is not because of the doings of West German capitalists. It is because of the lack of prospects in the decay of the GDR economy. We cannot dissociate personal freedom from a modern way and standard of life. The GDR's SED has been denying both to its population until recently, and it shouldn't be forgotten that its police and army had orders to shoot or jail those who attempted to breach that denial.

H. Brand
Bethesda, Md.

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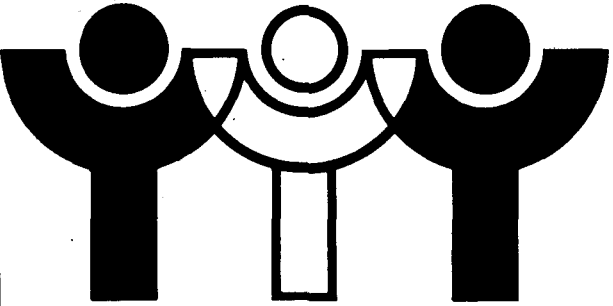
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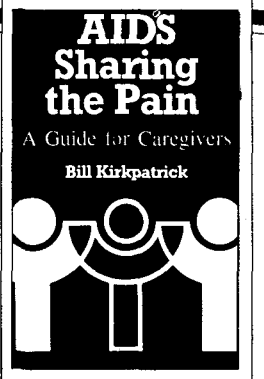
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Toward a real existing socialism

Every day the American media are filled with the same message: socialism is dead. Everyone always knew it was inconsistent with freedom and democracy, so the story goes. Now it has failed as an economic system as well. In all the places where it has been tried the longest, even the leaders, rushing to replace socialist with capitalist economic institutions, are implicitly admitting it has failed to deliver the goods. As Robert Heilbroner recently proclaimed in the *New Yorker*, "Less than 75 years after it officially began, the contest between capitalism and socialism is over: capitalism has won." The claim that there is no economic alternative to capitalism poses a severe challenge to progressives, however critical they may have been toward "actually existing socialism."

Socialism has meant many things to those who have marched under its banner. It has always embodied values of equality, cooperation and freedom from want. In the early days of the socialist movement, there was also wide agreement that two key institutions would characterize a socialist economy: public ownership of the means of production and planning. For the past 50 years such agreement has been superseded by wide debate over socialist economic institutions, with many arguing that markets and various forms of non-state ownership have important roles to play in a socialist economy. But socialists of every stripe are challenged by the claim that public ownership and planning have been shown up as failed institutions and must be abandoned entirely.

The major American media have consistently distorted the meaning of the recent dramatic events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The highly centralized, politically authoritarian form of socialism that has existed in the USSR and Eastern Europe has entered a period of crisis. This crisis has both economic and political roots. It has produced movements to transform those societies, movements that have taken different forms in different countries.

But the experience to date does not show that socialism has failed, or that public ownership or economic planning has failed. The European socialist economies' performance has had significant strengths as well as weaknesses. The roots of the current crisis of socialism are found in both the successes and failures of "actually existing socialism."

Successes of socialist economies: From the end of World War II through the '70s, economic growth in the USSR and Eastern Europe was rapid. From 1960 to 1975, gross national product (GNP) grew significantly faster in the USSR (4.3 percent annually) than in the U.S. (3.3 percent annually), and slightly faster in Eastern Europe (4.2 percent annually) than in Western Europe (4.1 percent annually). Furthermore, the rapid growth of the socialist economies in those years took place with virtually no price inflation.

Czechoslovakia and East Germany have been the economically most successful countries in Eastern Europe. For most of the period 1950 to 1973, labor productivity grew faster in East than in West Germany. East Germany exports many industrial products successfully in world markets, including machine tools, optical goods and

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David M. Kotz



printing equipment, and it licenses technologies to Western corporations. In 1987 per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in the East Germany was \$12,000, about equal to that of France and \$2,000 below the level of West Germany. Czechoslovakia's per capita GDP was \$10,000, about equal to that of Britain, while the USSR's GDP per capita was \$8,700.

The rapid growth of the socialist economies took place without the enormous differences in wealth and income that characterize capitalist economies, showing the fal-

Socialism has meant many things to those who have marched under its banner. It has always embodied values of equality, cooperation and freedom from want.

sity of the claim that great inequality is necessary to generate a high rate of saving and investment. In fact, a major reason for the rapid growth of socialist economies has been their ability to channel a large proportion of national income into investment. Investment has typically been over one-third of GDP in the European socialist economies, compared to less than one-fifth in the U.S. The absence of property incomes and the narrow wage differences produced a relatively equal income distribution. In the USSR the richest 10 percent of the population receives about 3.4 times the income of the poorest 10 percent, compared to a corresponding ratio of 15.5 for the U.S.

The Soviet and Eastern European economic systems have also provided a high degree of economic security for their people. Virtual full employment prevailed until the '80s. Education and health care are free or very inexpensive, and housing and staple foods have carried low subsidized prices.

The full employment that has prevailed in "actually existing socialism" provides workers with significant power at work. Western analysts often criticize Soviet job practices on the grounds that managers cannot run their plants efficiently because they cannot readily discipline or fire work-

ers. As the Soviet Union has tried to rationalize its economy by reducing some overstaffed enterprises, managers have often had to let the workers decide who would go and who would stay. This has typically led to criteria for layoffs very different from those a profit-seeking manager would use. For example, workers have chosen for layoff younger single workers, rather than older workers or those with many dependents, on the grounds that the former can more easily be retrained or relocated. In East Germany, significant procedural rights for workers have combined with full employment to give workers significant power to block changes in work organization that would adversely affect them.

Problems of socialist economies: Beginning in the late '70s, a set of economic and political developments within "actually existing socialism" spurred the growth of a movement for change. In the second half of the '70s, growth slowed in both the USSR and Eastern Europe. From 1976 to 1988, output in the USSR grew at only 2.1 percent per year, compared to a U.S. growth rate of 3.1 percent. Growth in Eastern Europe fell to 1.6 percent annually over those years, compared to 2.7 percent in Western Europe. This reversal of past experience produced increasing worry by the leadership and a spreading sense of economic stagnation.

There had long been serious problems with the quality of consumer goods, and particularly consumer services, both in the USSR and Eastern Europe. As rising living standards brought the population to a reasonable level of material comfort and security, these problems became more galling. Increased travel and better communication between blocs demonstrated the large gap with the industrialized West on this aspect of economic performance.

The decades of pursuit of rapid growth degraded the environment throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe. A growing protest movement arose to challenge these distorted priorities. Indicators of social alienation began to rise in the socialist countries. Particularly in the USSR, crime, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and a sense of spiritual aimlessness increased at an alarming rate.

At the same time, the well-educated, largely urbanized population in the USSR and Eastern Europe showed increasing re-

sentment toward the authoritarian structure of political and economic institutions. The denial of freedom to travel and freedom to express opinions became increasingly intolerable.

Thus, the economic and political development of "actually existing socialism" produced growing contradictions that erupted in the form of social movements demanding transformation of the society. But the outbreak of these movements for change does not mean that socialism, or the institutions of public ownership or economic planning, have failed. After all, those same institutions produced very rapid growth and social progress for many decades. The fact that a mode of production produces contradictions, or even goes into crisis, does not mean it has failed—as generations of Western socialists have discovered, to their dismay, in their past confrontations with capitalist crises.

What lies ahead? Mikhail Gorbachov and his associates appear to believe that the solution to the current crisis of their form of socialism is democratization of all social institutions. They argue that democratization of state and economy will bring renewed economic expansion, improved consumer goods and services, a new emphasis on preserving the natural environment and a reversal of the recent disturbing social trends. They also call for expansion of cooperative and individual ownership of enterprises and for an expansion of market forces in the economy, while maintaining a dominant role for public ownership and planning.

We appear to be witnessing a long delayed democratic revolution in the socialist world. A repressive, undemocratic state has never been an appropriate accompaniment for a socialist economy. A democratic state, based on rule of law and offering protection of individual rights, should release the full economic potential of socialism. By contrast, under capitalism a fully democratic state would constantly threaten the interests of the capitalist class, as the majority asserted its needs over the requirements of capitalist profit. The capitalists strive, usually successfully, to restrict popular sovereignty to a narrow realm that will leave the key economic decisions to them.

How to effect such a dramatic transformation of authoritarian, overly centralized socialism is no easy matter, and the attempt is running into various political complications. One is the difficult national problem in the USSR. Another is the flight of East Germans to West Germany, which is undermining the previously strong East German economy and threatening to submerge its egalitarian socialism under the wealthier West German capitalism. In all the countries there is a tendency of some sectors of the population to blame socialism for their problems. In some Eastern European states where the socialist tradition is weak, such as Poland, there may be a move back toward capitalism. However, recent polls have found that, except in Poland, the people of Eastern Europe view capitalism as undesirable.

Rather than mourn the defeat of socialism, socialists should cheer the attempt to finally create a "real existing socialism" that is democratic. Achieving that form of socialism would mark the beginning of the end of the long contest between the two systems, but not with the ending that Robert Heilbroner proclaims.

By Pat Aufderheide

AS BARRIERS TO FREEDOM OF expression fall around the world, here at home a major voice for human rights and diversity of expression was silenced when Pantheon Books was gutted by corporate managers on February 26.

The savaging of Pantheon shows why, under the current system, cen-

BOOKS

sorship is not necessary to suppress unfashionable or dissident opinion. Elimination of the vehicles of expression will come, indirectly, to the same thing. And the "invisible hand" never gets dirty.

Pantheon was one of the last enclaves of serious publishing of history and culture for a general audience. It stood, over its 47 years, in the shrinking arena between cat calendars and the increasingly vanity-press world of academic publishing. (See accompanying list of published authors.) Begun by refugees whose publishing house had been destroyed by Adolf Hitler, it consistently published books to be read by the curious and concerned. As publishers increasingly shredded or remaindered yesterday's books, Pantheon kept its impressive backlist in print and available to new generations of readers.

Talk of the town: Never much of a "profit center," Pantheon was bought by Random House in 1961 and run as its prestige line. In 1980, when the Newhouse family bought Random House—the largest trade-book publisher in the country—many bland promises were made (as were made when Newhouse bought *The New Yorker*, which has also undergone drastic upheavals) that there would be no tampering with editorial content. Since then, its financial status has been shrouded in the secrecy of the Newhouse family books, although the Newhouse estimates of Pantheon losses seem magically to grow every time managers talk to reporters.

Last fall, the removal of Robert L. Bernstein, a longtime defender of quality, as head of Random House, and his replacement by bottom-line expert Alberto Vitale (ex-CEO of Bantam Doubleday Dell), led to widespread expectations of new tampering. Newhouse has called for cost consciousness in every Random House division, including Pantheon.

Andre Schiffrin, head of Pantheon Books, also felt the pinch. Rather than slash his forthcoming list and cancel outstanding contracts with authors, he resigned on February 26. He has since been unavailable for comment—apparently, like Bernstein, having been forced into silence as a condition of his job termination.

The next day, senior editors Tom

Engelhardt (see adjoining statement), James Peck, Wendy Wolf and Sara Bershtel—with a total of 56 years of service—resigned in protest. "Pantheon was founded in 1942 to protect an imperiled culture," they wrote in a joint statement. "We sought to continue that tradition by bringing into public view the forgotten and the iconoclastic, the quirky and the profound, the crises faced by other cultures, and our own. We sought as well to give voice to at least some of the victims of our age—and to expose those who abused their wealth and power."

"What motivated us was the commitment to provide a forum where some of the least popular but most important ideas and voices could be heard. And what encouraged us was that so often the books we believed in became classics and commercial successes, and that so many authors chose to publish with Pantheon because they believed in the values it represented."

On March 1, a fifth editor resigned. Engelhardt explained the loss in terms that can't be quantified. "The authors on our list will all be able to be published by other houses. An Ariel Dorfman, a Todd Gitlin can find a place," he said. "But what about the new Ariel Dorfman? Who will find that author, cultivate him or her, introduce them to a reading public? That's the real loss here."

Vitale rushed to assure critics of "Random House's commitment to maintaining Pantheon's position as one of our most prestigious imprints, and to insuring its continuity and success in the years to come." But it's hard to see where that commitment stands in relation to making

every Random House division a profit center, and to the decision to amputate Pantheon's list of forthcoming books and its authors' contracts.

\$10 billion and no debts: The Newhouse media empire could, in theory, afford a prestige loss leader. The last time *Advertising Age* magazine did a count of the 100 top media companies, in June 1989, Newhouse's Advance Publications ranked seventh, above Knight-Ridder and the Hearst Corporation, with a 7 percent increase in its revenues in a year.

Its 26 newspapers haul in nearly double Random House's \$800 million annual gross, and its magazine empire—including such publications as *Vanity Fair*, *HG*, *GQ*, *Details* and *Bride's*—also substantially outgrosses its book holdings. Newhouse's publishing group also holds a host of cable operations that are a financial bright spot as cable's fortunes rise. Unlike many expanding media empires, the Newhouse family holdings appear to be free of debt. (The Newhouse family's close-to-the-vest and tight-fisted policies—the privately held operation is virtually non-union, a legacy from founder S.I. Newhouse's days—are notorious now, thanks to an Internal Revenue Service tax-fraud case Newhouse won on March 1, which shed a rare ray of light on the family empire. Maggie Mahar's comprehensive article in the Nov. 27, 1989, *Barron's* picked out some of the best parts from the mountain of documents.)

But Newhouse has also been greedy in the merger-and-takeover atmosphere of media conglomeration. Si Newhouse's part of the operation—he controls the \$3 billion

books-and-magazines part of a \$10 billion operation, while his brother controls the rest—recently bought a group of British publishers as well as the Crown Publishing Group. Both deals saddled the company with unprofitable operations.

Maybe this added pressure tipped the balance for Pantheon, or maybe it was just another part of the inscrutable Newhouse management style. Pantheon is not the first victim within Random House of the Newhouse slash-and-burn style; the college division was destroyed in 1988 even though sales were up. And it probably won't be the last. Another prestigious trade-book line, Vintage, is also under scrutiny for possible merger with the more mainstream mass-market line Ballantine.

Playing politics? Elimination of alternative voices by bottom-line logic is one thing. But Pantheon was not only a haven for intellectual work but also a major publisher on human-rights issues and a voice of the left in American society. "We're losing a major forum for dissident opinion, not least because Pantheon set such a high standard," said Pantheon author Barbara Ehrenreich, whose *Fear of Falling* was recently issued by Pantheon and whose *The Worst Years of Our Lives* is forthcoming.

Could the axing of Bernstein (a liberal advocate) and of Pantheon be politically as well as economically motivated? It's impossible to prove. But the values promoted in many Pantheon books have not been high on Si Newhouse's list over the years.

Si Newhouse attended Syracuse University—where his father had funded a communications program—for a few years before dropping out. He spent more than a decade on the society and fashion circuits before settling down to run glossy magazines under the tutelage of the editorial director of the Newhouse-owned Conde Nast magazine em-

pire. He eventually made his reputation in celebrity journalism (reincarnating *Vanity Fair*, for instance).

The New Yorker transition was a symptom of his insensitivity. The editorial changeover was accomplished gracefully, alienating writers, several of whom quit. There is now a much less friendly atmosphere for those within *The New Yorker* who want to raise issues of conscience.

His political convictions may side with his personal loyalties. He was anti-communist attorney Roy Cohn's closest friend—it's all in Nicholas von Hoffman's biography *Citizen Cohn*—and has been known to swing his media clout in the direction of his friendships. In *Mobbed Up*, a biography of Teamsters President Jackie Presser, James Neff describes how a Newhouse paper, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, printed a false retraction of a negative story about Presser (whose attorney was Roy Cohn), which helped Presser get re-elected.

None of this necessarily makes Pantheon a political target for Newhouse's ire. But the clues at least add up to an indifference to the communities and values that Pantheon championed.

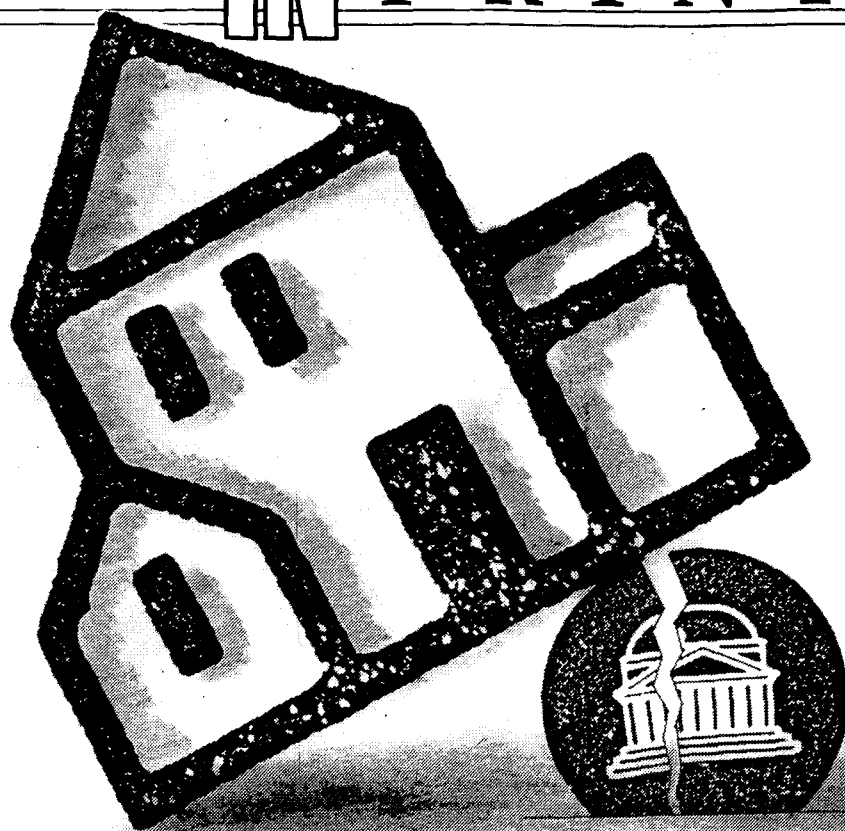
Words to live by

Pantheon's backlist reads like a trip through midcentury intellectual history. It is particularly significant since the majority of the authors were first published—and some exclusively—by Pantheon. It includes, among many others:

Gunter Grass
Boris Pasternak
Julio Cortazar
Giuseppe de Lampedusa
Simone de Beauvoir
Marguerite Duras
John Berger
Mary Renault
Peter Schneider
Eva Figes
Eduardo Galeano
Gunnar and Alva Myrdal
Noam Chomsky
Jean-Paul Sartre
Juliet Mitchell
Barry Commoner
Edward Said
Herbert Gutman
Eugene Genovese
Norman Birnbaum
Arno Mayer
George Kennan
Willy Brandt
Michel Foucault
Eric Hobsbawm
Orville Schell
Italo Calvino
Studs Terkel
Danilo Dolce
Alan Watts
Carl Jung
R.D. Laing
Walker Evans
Susan Meiselas

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Pantheon's fall: publish and perish



The fate of Pantheon accompanies other signals of erosion of diversity within the book publishing industry—the one ad-free print medium. E.P. Dutton has recently shrunk into invisibility. North Point Press, a young house that revived some classics and discovered new writers, is up for sale. In the same week that

"I don't know why rich people can't treasure something without feeling they have to own it," says Pantheon author Lawrence Weschler.

Pantheon got the ax, Grove Weidenfeld—a merger of Grove Press and Weidenfeld and Nicolson—was put up for sale. The major prospective buyer is the Newhouse family.

And of course there's innovator Chris Whittle (whose holdings are now partly owned by the largest media conglomerate in the U.S., Time-Warner), who has just launched his latest brainchild: the book that carries advertising. Whittle Books are distributed, in their advertising-laden version, free to decisionmakers, and are also sold without advertising to the general public.

Publishing has been transformed from a low-profit trade in ideas to a high-stakes, multibillion-dollar business in which, as Calvin Trillin once said, books now have a shelf life shorter than yogurt. It's been a long process, tracked by Thomas Whiteside in his 1981 *The Blockbuster Complex*. (The book is now out of print, of course; it was serialized in *The New Yorker*—in the pre-Newhouse era, of course). And as Jason Epstein recently pointed out in the *New York Review of Books*, betting on a few high-return authors sets unrealistic expectations for book-biz money managers. Fueling the trend has been corporate conglomeration, in which book publishing becomes one part of a media empire and financial decisions from on high become paramount in editorial judgment. Newhouse is now the rare privately held corporation in a world of international corporate media giants, including News Corp, Bertelsmann and, of course, Time-Warner.

"The conglomeration of publishing has made houses like Pantheon an endangered species in the last decade," charged Alec Dubro, president of the National Writers Union. (As media expert Ben Bagdikian has noted, the number of corporations controlling the country's media went from 50 in 1983 to 26 in 1988—and will shrink even further in the next decade.)

"We are creating a climate where economic censorship over the dis-

semination of ideas is a real likelihood," Dubro said.

Even the book industry's major trade magazine found the Pantheon news shocking. In a rare full-page editorial in *Publishers Weekly*, editor in chief John Baker wrote that Pantheon had long been the "shining example, to critics who complained of conglomerate publishing, of how sophisticated work could still flourish in its context. Now it seems as if perhaps those critics were right: that big-money publishing cannot tolerate important, exciting work that does not always reap instant profits."

Lawrence Weschler, a *New Yorker* writer who decided to publish his *The Passion of Poland* with Pantheon because of its policy of keeping backlist books in print and whose most recent book, *A Miracle, a Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*, is forthcoming from Pantheon, said, "If we're entering into the era where every single book division has to make money every single quarter or lights go out somewhere, we're in real trouble. The whole rationale [for corporate takeover] was that there were going to be little alcoves of security for quality stuff because the Danielle Steeles would pay for it."

Weschler commented on a recent article he wrote for *The New Yorker*—an interview with a Polish publisher on the ironies of publishing in Poland today, where high prices have severely shrunk readership. "That wasn't the article I wanted to write," he said. "That article would have reported the whole conversation, which took place in Andre Schiffrin's house. The Polish publisher was as appalled by Andre's situation as by his own."

"There's a paradox in this current 'triumph of capitalism,' when under capitalism living standards are lowering. And it's paralleled by a triumph of 'freedom,' when publishing houses are shutting down around the world. What guarantees freedom is the free exchange of information, but the vitality of the free exchange of ideas is more and more limited."

"I don't know why rich people can't treasure something without feeling that they have to own it," Weschler said wistfully.

Talking back to \$10 billion: The Pantheon gutting has created an unprecedented public furor, beginning with the public resignations of the editors.

Many Pantheon and other Random House division authors issued a statement, to be published in the *New York Review of Books*, protesting "an assault on editorial independence and cultural freedom." The statement asserts that the Newhouse family, upon purchasing Random House, "incurred, willy-nilly, an obligation to preserve and nurture this invaluable resource for writers, editors and readers." The authors protest "censorship—however rationalized—by corporate fiat."

Along with public statements, some 350 writers, including Kurt Vonnegut and Studs Terkel picketed

Random House on March 5; others jammed Random House fax lines with protest messages. Some writers, including Terkel, are talking of boycotting Pantheon for future projects.

"Andre Schiffrin is a risk taker and a man of social responsibility," Terkel said. "They used the most obscene two words today, 'bottom line,' to get rid of him. The barbarians are now in charge at Pantheon. Dough, not books, is what it's about, so why not sell detergent? Or better yet, in the case of Random House, deodorant."

But in the absence of any public policy that recognizes the special role of the media in a democracy, it will be difficult to do more than mourn the loss of such institutions. In the current brass-knuckles world of book publishing, any obligation to preserve and nurture cultural resources, such as Pantheon authors charged Newhouse with, goes unrecognized either in law or corporate culture.

Creating public policy that can

rein in the most destructive aspects of corporate capitalism in media industries is tricky business. Preserving freedom of speech and the right to publish freely has been safeguarded in this country by keeping government out of press business, and there is little precedent for balancing corporate clout with regulation in the print media. And part of the problem is rescuing legitimacy—in the deregulated, freewheeling economic environment fostered by the Reagan years—for the public's right to freedom of expression superseding corporate freedoms. That would mean acknowledging that, at times, the interests of media corporations are not wholly consonant with the crucial freedoms of speech and published expression upon which a democracy rests. And that would anger the powerful corporate interests that now cross-feed the biggest entertainment sellers through their publishing, broadcasting, cable and movie pipelines.

It's not as if there aren't good ideas for public policy, indeed, ideas that

have worked in some form in the past. Bagdikian suggested in his book *The Media Monopoly* limiting the holdings of media corporations. Such legislation would not tamper with freedom of expression, but it would cool down the marketplace. Of course, it would also significantly change the current economic landscape.

In the meantime, Pantheon authors and readers are finding cold comfort in the empty promises of Alberto Vitale. "He needs to reassure us that the standards and practices of Pantheon, which were based on editorial sensibility rather than on corporate preoccupation with the bottom line, will continue to be preserved," said Dave Marsh, author of the Bruce Springsteen biography *Glory Days*. That reassurance, in the form of financial support and the recreation of an editorial community, will be much more difficult than was the decision to gut Pantheon. ■

Editor's note: Pat Aufderheide is a Pantheon author.

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One from the heart, from the heart of the beast

Like others before, like many to come, Pantheon has been Newhoused. Publicity releases may try to transform the "resignation" of Andre Schiffrin, managing director of Pantheon Books, into a positive event filled with bright promises for the future. But such promises should fool no one. For 28 years Schiffrin shaped Pantheon into a publishing house of daring and distinction. Si Newhouse is ensuring, with his removal, not merely an individual departure but the disappearance of a great publishing vision, which will now continue in name only. (The plans of Alberto Vitale, the new chairman of Random House, to massively cut Pantheon's list and, undoubtedly, staff are just two aspects of the reality that awaits Pantheon somewhere down the road.)

As a senior editor at Pantheon Books for almost 15 years, I am under no illusions about the future of the publishing house I have known and cared about, and so I have given my resignation to Mr. Vitale.

Because the public stage and the terms of debate are not controlled by people like me, the events at Pantheon may be framed only in terms of the proverbial bottom line and of what passes for financial rationality in a world in which the "books" belong to accountants and those objects we have published with pride are referred to by managers like Vitale as so many "units." Si Newhouses's real books are, of course, not open to us. But there should be no mistake. If there is such a thing as white-collar crime, there should be another category called "cultural crime," and the fate of

Pantheon Books, left these many months to dangle in the wind of rumor and gossip, would come within that rubric.

Pantheon as a publishing house has had a distinguished history of documenting the lives and stories of people who might otherwise have been forcibly disappeared from history, or who might never have appeared in the first place. It was set up by the most distinguished European publishers of the pre-war period, including Helen and Kurt Wolff and Jacques Schiffrin, whose publishing houses the Nazis had crushed (or "Aryanized"). Among Pantheon's first books was a mini-edition of Vercors' *Silences de la Mer* to be dropped by the Royal Air Force into occupied France.

In more recent times, from Etty Hillesum's *An Interrupted Life* to Harry Mulisch's *The Assault*, from David Wyman's *The Abandonment of the Jews* to Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, Pantheon has put significant effort into documenting and reminding the world of that greatest and most horrific attempted disappearance of modern times. So, too, from Ariel Dorfman's *Widows* to Liu Bin-yang's *Tell the World*, and Lawrence Weschler's upcoming *A Miracle, a Universe*, it has turned its attention to the terrible disappearances of our world today.

Over almost half a century, Pantheon has brought to American readers books meant to challenge, to startle, to offer new perspectives, to force us to rethink our relationship to the world, to our society, to ourselves. The existence of Pantheon has allowed those voices, dissenting voices (often voices that dissented even from each other), to

be raised to a level that all of us could hear. Studs Terkel, Herb Gutman, Barbara Ehrenreich, Noam Chomsky, George Kennan, John Berger and so many other authors came to us because they wanted to be identified with a house that considered publishing an act of social responsibility.

Now, in a world in which a few men like Si Newhouse, Robert Maxwell, Rupert Murdoch and Reinhard Mohn (of Bertelsmann AG) and a handful of relatively faceless media conglomerates have our culture by the throat, Pantheon is itself in danger of being disappeared in all but name, and along with it a significant part of America's alternative cultural tradition.

And this is all the more disturbing because Pantheon was in no way a dying publishing house. It was, on the contrary, a publishing house with plans for the 1990s and beyond, a publishing house addressing itself, as it had done for so many years, to the major issues of our day.

The assault on Pantheon, the silencing of its true voice, is a crime against our culture, against the possibility that in times of crisis, in times of change and of hope, there will still be a plurality of voices, voices of advice and of anger, of dissent and of warning, with alternatives ways of looking at the world, alternative ways of assessing the past, alternative ways of viewing the future. My sadness at the end of the Pantheon I knew passes all bounds. I can only hope that those authors who have the opportunity will go to and support the few remaining independent publishers still in our world today.

—Tom Engelhardt

Nicaragua

Continued from page 11

campaign will be difficult to fulfill. Much depends on the role Washington chooses to play. While initial signals from the U.S. were extremely supportive in the wake of her victory, they quickly toned down when it came time to discuss financial assistance. A team of Chamorro advisers, led by Mayorga, travelled to Washington to present a \$300 million aid package request to both the U.S. and international banks, but it is likely that Nicaragua will receive significantly less than this sum. In the battle for aid, Nicaragua faces fierce competition from Eastern Europe as

well as Panama. That country's U.S.-installed President Guillermo Endara greeted the UNO victory in Nicaragua with a hunger strike as his country slipped further into misery and insecurity in the absence of promised U.S. assistance.

In both Panama and Nicaragua, the U.S. has now fulfilled two of its long-stated foreign policy goals (see editorial, page 14). But while plenty of money was available to support the contras and efforts to oust Panamanian dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega, the coffers appear to be empty for shoring up the replacement governments.

In recent days the Bush administration has signaled that it hopes to "internationalize"

the aid burden that Chamorro's Nicaragua will pose over the next few years. In addition to help from Europe and Japan, the Soviet Union may even play a role. Bush reportedly has asked the USSR to continue assuming its aid to Managua, while top Chamorro adviser Alfredo Cesar has requested that it continue supplying the country's oil, at least for the time being.

"Ten years ago we were threatened with invasion for having made ties with Moscow," said Sandinista Foreign Ministry General Secretary Alejandro Bendana in the wake of the election. "Now we have the president of the United States asking for help from the Soviet Union to assist us. It is a strange world

we are entering, isn't it?"

The irony of a Chamorro government being sold short by its U.S. backers was summed up by a Sandinista columnist on March 5 this way:

"The U.S. administration never intended for a group like UNO to pay the bill for the economic/military suffocation provoked by the U.S. in Nicaragua, particularly not when the situation in East Europe, responsibility for the Panama invasion and other obligations cause Washington to tighten its own belt."

David Dye and William Gasperini are *In These Times'* correspondents in Nicaragua.

Cereal

Continued from page 24

grew larger and the stakes higher, corporate enterprises began to take over the landscape. The Quaker Oats Company joined the fray in 1918 with Puff Berries and Wheat Berries. Sales were slow until market strategists renamed them Puffed Wheat and Puffed Rice and spiced the copy with "Shot from Guns!" The General Foods Corporation, a conglomerate of food-product companies including General Mills, entered the cereal market in 1930 with a processed wheat flake called Wheaties. They extolled its virtues to the consuming public through extensive radio programming, producing the first singing commercials and the first campaigns aimed directly at children as a consumer block. Jack Armstrong, All-American Boy was created by General Foods to sell Wheaties. The company produced the radio show complete with Wheaties ads and distributed it to radio stations around the country desperate for programming. They even had their own radio station in Minneapolis. When they introduced Cheerioats, quickly shortened to Cheerios, they created the Lone Ranger to champion its cause, first on radio and later on television.

The '30s saw a thinning out of cereal companies but an expanding market. The product line stabilized with Kellogg's Corn Flakes the volume leader, followed by such stan-



dards as Post Toasties, Shredded Wheat and Wheaties.

The post-war boom saw an expansion of shapes and colors and a modernization of the package. The naturalistic sweetheart of corn which had adorned the Kellogg's boxes gave way to an abstracted rooster; Wheaties became the breakfast of champions through endorsements by leading sports figures of the day.

In 1950 Kellogg's introduced a harbinger of the future, Sugar Pops, first of the pre-sweetened cereals. Sugar Frosted Flakes followed in 1952, and in the next few years every shape and flavor on the market was reflected in a sugar-coated twin. Kix became Trix, Puffed Wheat turned to Sugar Smacks and Sugar Crisp, Cheerios turned to Fruit Loops. Color was introduced as well as marshmallow bits. Dr. Kellogg, a vegetarian and a man who disdained sugar, would not have been pleased.

Cartoon characters became the dominant motif. The Sugar Crisp Bear, Tony the Tiger, the Trix rabbit, the Lucky Charms leprechaun, the OK's lumberjack, the Cheerios Kid. Saturday morning cartoon characters made guest appearances on boxes. Quick-Draw McGraw, Yogi Bear. The Flintstone's became permanent spokespersons for the Pebbles line, Cocoa and Fruity. And more adventuresome flavors appeared: Cocoa Puffs, Apple Jacks, Count Chocula, Frankenberry, Strawberry Crazy Cow, Peanut Butter Captain Crunch.

Granola made a big comeback in the late '60s and early '70s. It was one of Dr. Kellogg's first cereals. And "modern healthy" cereals like Special K, Product 19, Total, Team and Life. Cereals bursting with vitamins and minerals and other chemical goodies. Brans have had a long run: Raisin Bran, All Bran, Bran Buds, Cracklin Bran, Bran Chex. Honey too: Honeycombs, Honey-Nut Cheerios, etc. Landscapes and cornucopia spread across the boxes on the adult shelves. The Kellogg's rooster gave way to a photographic cross section of right-thinking Americans. Athletes, businessmen, cuddlesome kids. But the pre-sweetened were not to be denied.

In 1978 Ralston Purina introduced Cookie Crisp, a cereal closely resembling a box of small chocolate-chip cookies. Cereal had achieved snack-food postmodernity. They followed with vanilla and peanut butter Cookie Crisp. Next came donuts. Powdered donuts from Ralston, I believe, and Glazed Donuts from General Mills. I think there was even a Dunkin' Donuts tie-in with one of them. Cracker Jacks became a cereal for several months in 1983.





The friendly feud between fun and health continues on the cereal shelves today. The adult shelves are filled with nutritious-sounding names: Heartwise, Common Sense Oat Bran, Just Right, Nutri-Grain, Muesli, Mueslix. The lower shelves are home to the Ninja Turtles and Teddy Graham's Breakfast Bears.

Even the lower shelves have made a few concessions to the health thing, however. Names have changed. Sugar Smacks is now

Honey Smacks, Sugar Crisp is Super Golden Crisp, Sugar Frosted Flakes are just Frosted Flakes. Indeed, the fight for attention has gone way beyond cereal flavor and content.

The Turtles have a hologram on their latest box, as do Frosted Flakes (a limited edition series of four Tony the Tiger sports action poses), Rice Krispies, Cookie Crisp, and the Real Ghostbusters. Ghostbusters cereal pioneered the hologram box in 1985 before becoming the Real GBs. My box of Batman came with a plastic Batman bank shrink-wrapped to the box. Last year Cheerios was putting U.S. currency in their boxes. Mueslix was giving away foreign money. Barbie is offering diamond rings and wearing a wedding dress on the latest hot-pink box.

The licensed trademark cereals have subtly altered the whole purpose of cereal marketing. Barbie is not just doing a guest spot to prop up sales of a lagging brand; it's her cereal. The box is not there to sell the cereal; the cereal is there to sell the box.

Yet along with the new and trendy, there are some familiar cereals still on the aisle. The Wheaties box still looks about the same; they're still the breakfast of champions. Kellogg's Corn Flakes and Post Toasties are still there. Snap, Crackle, and Pop still pitch Rice Krispies, though they have reached celebrity status themselves and have a few licensing deals going. As do Captain Crunch and Tony the Tiger.

The adult cereals are lagging behind on the merchandising end. They're still using the health angle, blowing in the wind of the latest nutritional fad, be it corn, fiber, nuts, vitamins, minerals, oats. Where is the L.A. Law cereal? Little briefcases and subpoenas. Where is the sex lies and videotape cereal? Maybe they'll come around in the '90s.

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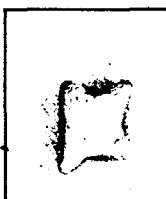
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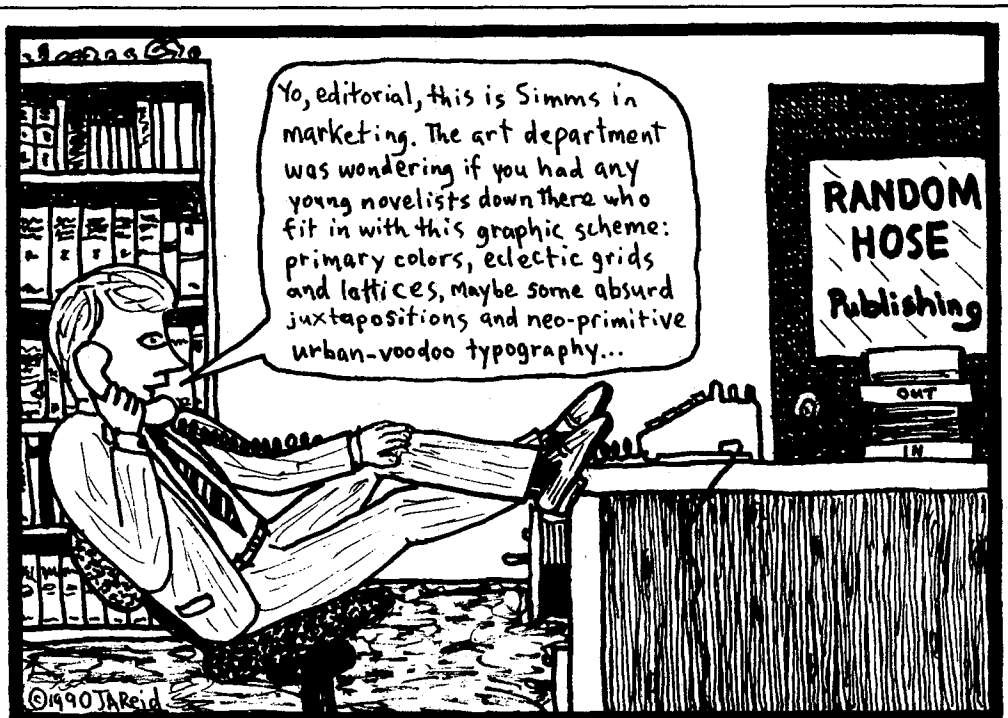


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Rough CUTS BY JAREID



By J. Poet

BELIEVE IT OR NOT, *DOGHOUSE* was developed to be a conceptual album," Michael "Menace" Weeden says. "Being in the doghouse is like having the blues. No matter what race, no matter what color or ethnic background, everybody's been in the doghouse at one time or another—we all know what it feels like. But the doghouse can also be the funhouse. A place to let go and have a good time."

Menace is talking about his *Doghouse* LP (see accompanying review) from the offices of Jump Street Records in New York City. "A lot of people picked up on the 'Doghouse' single because of George Clinton's 'Atomic Dog' and they see this as part of the same trip, which is both

MUSIC

true and false. It is funk and I'm definitely aiming to take that George Clinton thing and move it on down the road, but Clinton's a rock'n'roller too. There's lots of rock in my music—you can't say white music is rock and black music is funk. That's ridiculous."

Radio interference: As ridiculous as it may be, radio programmers tend to pitch records to particular demographics. Many bands are considered "too rock for urban radio and too funky for rock radio."

Menace growls. "I'm sorry if they think it's not black enough, even though I'm black, and I'm sorry if it's not white enough, even though I'm not white, but I think that the origin of those divisions have to do with music-industry people."

"The other night I played the Cat Club, a big New York rock club. A white rock reviewer told me, 'Man, I haven't heard any rock like that in years; it's really great.' And there were some black cats there who were saying, 'Yeah, man, that shit is really funky.' I get a real mixture of people when I play, black, white, Japanese, everything. And since my band is multiracial and multi-ethnic, it makes it difficult for some people to see the light."

"I think the music business invented those categories to create jobs. Instead of a music director, they can have a *black* music director and a *country* music director and a *pop* chart and a *rap* chart and a *dance* chart. They don't realize that they're limiting the types of music people hear. In England they don't have a black chart or a rock chart; they just have one list and everything from reggae to funk to rock shows up on that one chart."

Menace has been aware of America's peculiar racial and musical dilemma since he was a child. "I was born in the Motor City and grew up with music in the house," Menace recalled. "My parents were both working jazz musicians. My father,

Serious funk/rock Menace to society



Paul Weeden, was in Count Basie's orchestra for many years, and my mother, Terry Pollard, played piano with Duke Ellington and backed up Arthur Prysock, Dinah Washington, Sarah Vaughan, all the greats from the Birdland days."

With that kind of pedigree, you'd think that a career as a musician was assured, but Menace says his parents didn't agree.

"Even though they were musicians, they thought most musicians were lazy or into drugs. As it turned out, all my brothers and sisters became musicians and actors too, so I guess they weren't discouraged."

Jumping for Jimi: Menace said he wasn't serious about guitar play-

Although Menace had his heart set on becoming a musician, his parents did have their say as far as his schooling. He finished college with a degree in graphic design and started his own graphics company before moving to New York in the early '80s to pursue a musical career. There he met producer Kenny Nix through a mutual friend, and his musical career took off.

"I went to a session to play guitar, but Kenny and I hit it off. When I told him I could write and arrange music, we wound up co-writing and co-producing a couple of singles: 'Heart Beat' by Tanya Gardner and 'Funky Sensation' by Gwen McCray. Both became big club hits. We also

"I'm definitely aiming to take that George Clinton thing and move it on down the road," says Menace.

ing until the night he saw his first Jimi Hendrix concert. "It blew my mind, and I'm not even talking about how he played the guitar. Just his stage moves and the way he could stand there and manipulate the guitar overwhelmed me. The same with Jeff Beck and Clapton and all those cats."

"And of course there was Sly Stone, the Funkadelics, all the soul stuff. For me it was never either/or. If it came on the radio and sounded good, I went for it."

produced Gwen's album for Atco, and my name started getting around."

"Then my friend Mark Kayman turned me on to Madonna, and I did some work on her first album and played in her live band."

Opting for independence: Menace also added Whitney Houston, Bootsy Collins, Lenny White and Billy Joel to his growing list of credits. But after writing and producing for others, Menace felt the need to do something on his own. He put together a demo and talked to Jump

Street, a small independent label that is young and hungry. "I came in off the street and made my own deal, which is very rare in this business. I'd heard they were a good company, and a small label thrives on the energy of making things happen."

"I thought about going to a major, but I've worked in the music business long enough to know that a major label may mean major money and major promotion, but it can also mean major headaches."

So what's next for Menace? "We want to get out to the West Coast to promote the record," he says. "But a tour presents problems because I like to go out with a full band—horns, dancers, everything, maybe 16 pieces—and it's costly. But I feel an obligation, especially to kids who have never seen the Mothership or any kind of real funk. They need to get that live spark, that James Brown/George Clinton/Isley Brothers/Sly Stone/Hendrix vibe, that blend that I call serious funk rock music. Many kids today know funk only from sampling on rap records; they don't know how powerful, how joyful live music can be."

J. Poet is a writer and critic living in Berkeley, Calif.

Doghouse

Menace
Jump Street Records
(200 W. 72nd St., 6th Floor,
New York, NY 10023)

The guitar slinger multi-instrumentalist known as Menace has spent much of the last decade playing with Bootsy Collins, Whitney Houston, Billy Joel and other music-biz heavies. As a single listen to *Doghouse* will assure you, Menace has George Clinton's P-Funk in his blood—not that he could help it with band mates like Bootsy, Bernie Worrell, Maceo Parker, Mike Hampton and Mudbone, not to mention members of New York City's downtown avant art mafia, including producer Bill Laswell, Ayo Dieng and Nicky Skopelitis.

Take equal parts of Clinton-style call and response and Bootsy's dirty fairy-tale funk, add a subliminal trace of bump-and-grind Minneapolis-style, a touch of slash-and-burn rock guitar, a roomful of Afro-Caribbean percussion and Menace's own slightly skewed worldview and you've got a non-stop, drop-dead, psycho-funkadelic dance party.

"Doghouse" opens the disc with the kind of stompin' future funk that'll have every mangy cur

on the block achin' to bury the bone. "K9 69" is a world beat meets country and western-type thang. "Silly Stupid" has a thumpin' bass with echoes of the Ohio Players. "Give It Up" provides a solid P-Funk packet, while the Sly funk of "Just Say Yes" turns Nancy Reagan's mantra for moderation inside out in the service of emotional and physical excess. "Far-fetched" is a dazzling display of Menace's spacey guitar work set against a mellow mid-tempo groove, and the closer "Doggy Dub" is another dance-floor killer, produced and remixed by Tackhead Keith Le Blanc.

There are plenty of musicians who can keep the dance floor barkin' for a sweaty hour or two, but for me the acid test is a slow jam. Can the artist write a sweet melody and put it over with enough emotion and sincerity to make you believe? Well, the album's lone ballad, "One Lover," is sweet and slinky and just as catchy as the slammin' cartoon funk that dominates the rest of the platter. The only quibble I have is with the production—it's a little weak on the bottom end (even on the CD) and funk this fine ought to be able to knock the plaster off the walls when you crank the volume.

—J.P.

Conservatives

Continued from page 13

by changes in the American economy and society. From the New Deal through the early '80s, conservatives could win support from business by calling for tax and spending reductions, but business leaders who then backed them are now more concerned about foreign imports and investment than about government taxes.

The social base for the conservative alliance with Protestant evangelicism is also eroding as a new generation, schooled in the more permissive and cosmopolitan mores of the '60s, becomes the majority. By the early '80s, Virginia Democrats were defeating Republicans by tying them to Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. In the 1989 elections, conservative pro-life politics proved the undoing of candidates in Virginia and New Jersey.

As the bases of post-war conservative doctrine erode, some conservatives are finding solace in an older tradition. The paleoconservatives represent a return to the pre-World War II conservative ideology of nativism, isolationism and protectionism. At the same time, however, the paleocons recognize much more clearly than other conservatives the kind of issues that will affect Americans in the '90s.

The remainder of the right—represented by neoconservatives and *National Review*—find themselves joined uncomfortably to the liberal internationalists and lobbyists of New York's Wall Street and Washington's K Street. While defending the conservative movement against its bigoted past, they have nothing to offer its uncertain future. □

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK March 14-19

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
THE POLITICS OF CANCER AND AIDS TREATMENTS—Bob Ledere and Ralph Moss; Wednesday, March 14; 8 p.m.
WHO BUILT AMERICA? WORKING PEOPLE AND THE NATION'S ECONOMY, POLITICS, CULTURE AND SOCIETY—Book Party; Steve Brier, editor; Thursday, March 15; 8 p.m.
GEORG LUKACS AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURE—George Snedeker; Friday, March 16; 8 p.m.
THE INTERSECTION OF GENDER, RACE AND CLASS—Anne Ferguson; Sunday, March 18; 7 p.m.
"ANTI-TERRORISM" AND THE SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS—Joan Gibbs, Ahmed Obafemi and Theresa Horvath; Monday, March 19; 8 p.m.
Events are \$5 each and take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

March 16

NICARAGUA IN THE 1990s, a post-election analysis with Paul Berman, *Village Voice* writer; John Weeks, professor of international politics and economics at Middlebury College, Vermont; and a representative of the Nicaraguan government, at Hunter College, 615 West Building, 68th and Lexington Ave., southwest corner. Suggested donation \$5 (to benefit humanitarian aid projects in Nicaragua). Sponsored by the New York Nicaragua Solidarity Network. Call (212) 674-9499 for more information.

April 6-8

THE 8TH ANNUAL SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE, *Democratic Upheavals and the End of the Cold War*, at Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY, 199 Chambers St. (near Trade Center). The conference features many guest speakers and participants from left publications, political organizations and alternative groups. For information and registration contact: R.L. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Room 800, 33 West 42nd St., New York, NY 10036.

CHICAGO March 16

SisterSerpents announces the following event: "Rattle Your Rage," which includes an art exhibit of work that deals specifically with rage against sexism and the personal and societal oppression of women. Chicago opening events include the 7:30 screening of the R.W. Fassbinder film "Freedom in Bremen" and a 9:00 panel discussion, "Art vs. Reality, Women's Violence Against Their Oppression." At Chicago Filmmakers, 1229 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 281-8788.

March 25

For 40 years the journal MONTHLY REVIEW, founded by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, has represented independent and non-dogmatic socialist thinking. Readers and reporters of MONTHLY REVIEW in Chicago have formed a new discussion group, which meets at the New World Resource Center Bookstore, 1476 Irving Park Road. The group looks at a variety of topics covered in the journal that are timely for socialists today. This month's meeting, held Sunday, March 24, at 2 p.m., features the topic "Socialist Democracy and European Integration" by J. Hughes, Democratic Socialists of America, Chicago Chapter, with response by Asst. Professor William Pelz, DePaul University History Department. Co-sponsored by the Open University for the Left and the New World Resource Center. For more information contact Perry Cartwright, 2620 Jackson Drive, Woodridge, IL 60517, (708) 971-2620.

MINNEAPOLIS March 9-11

Explore solutions to the crisis in rural America and learn community organizing skills at our Leadership Training Institute in Minneapolis. Sessions will also address farm movement history, farm policy and credit, environment, militarism, sexism, racism, etc. Contact: North American Farm Alliance Education Project, P.O. Box 176, Ames, Iowa 50010, (515) 232-1009.

DENVER

March 23-24

THE ENVIRONMENTAL AND HEALTH LEGACIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION. Physicians for Social Responsibility's National Meeting will examine the radioactive and toxic threats to our health and environment caused by years of nuclear weapons production. Speakers include Bernard Lown, M.D.; Alice Stewart, M.D.; and Charles Clement, M.D.. Norman Cousins is the recipient of the 1990 PSR award. For more information contact PSR, 1000 16th St. NW, #810, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 785-3777.

WASHINGTON, DC March 24

Commemorate the assassination of Archbishop Romero and March to End the U.S. War in Central America. Assemble at 11 a.m. and march from the U.S. Capitol to the White House. A rally will be staged at the White House, followed by non-violent civil disobedience. Marches will also take place in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Austin, Texas. Co-sponsored by CISPES, SANE/Freeze, Nicaraguan Network, Pledge of Resistance, U.S. Student Association, United Church of Christ, Pax Christi USA, National Rainbow Coalition and many others. For more information, call (202) 265-0890, 328-4040 or 223-2328.

INDIANA, PA April 19

Second Annual Provost's Mini-Symposium, THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA? Speakers are Norman Hodges, Dennis Brutus, Georgina Ashworth, Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly and Kevin Reilly. Contact: Irwin Marcus, History Department, IUP, Indiana, PA 15705, (415) 357-2237 or 2284.

ESTELI, NICARAGUA April 21-May 26

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End the U.S. War in Central America

Archbishop Romero Commemoration and March

Washington, D.C.

Saturday, March 24, 1990

March from U.S. Capitol to White House

Prayer Gathering, 9:00 am at St. Aloysius Church, North Capitol and H St.

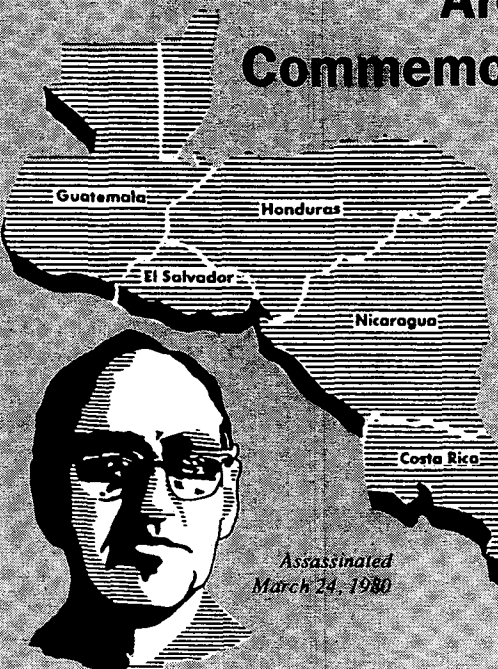
Assemble 10:00 am at the Capitol

Rally at White House

Speaking: Rev. Jesse Jackson

Nonviolent Civil Disobedience

Monday, March 26: Lobby Day



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■ Stop U.S. intervention in Nicaragua

■ No Invasions; End the occupation of Panama; End military aid to Guatemala

■ Cut military spending; Fund human needs

Sponsors: AFGE, Local 12, American Indian Movement, Building with the Voiceless of El Salvador, Center for Immigrant Rights, Central America Working Group, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Christian Institute Church of the Western, Church Women United, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Communist Party USA, COMADRE, Conference of Major Superiors of Men, Central America Refugee Committee (CRECEN), DC Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (DC SCAR), Democratic Socialists of America—Youth Section, Disarm Education Fund, District 1199/SEIU, Ecumenical Fast for El Salvador in Churches and Temples (EFTEC), Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean (EPCA), Environmental Project on Central America (EPOCA), Episcopal Church, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Intercommunity Center for Peace and Justice, Interfaith Office on Accompaniment, Jesuit Missions, Jesuit Social Ministries, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Jobs with Peace, Labor Coalition on Central America, League of Filipino Students, Lutheran Peace Fellowship, Madre, Maryknoll, Justice and Peace Office, Mobilization for Survival, National Central America Health Rights Network (NCAHRN), National Committee on Campus Ministry of the United Methodist Church, National Lawyers' Guild, National Rainbow Coalition, National Student Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), New Jewish Agenda, Nicaragua Network, NISGUA, Office of the Americas, Pax Christi USA, Pledge of Resistance, Progressive Student Network, Quixote Center/Quest for Peace, SANE/FREEZE, Campaign for Global Security, Sojourners, Unitarian Universalists, United Church of Christ, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UEA), United Methodist Church—Department of Peace and World Order, United States Student Association, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Witness for Peace, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Young Koreans United.

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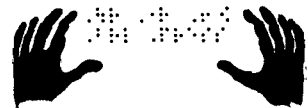
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T V BREAKFAST

By Miles DeCoster

I HAD BREAKFAST WITH BARBIE THIS MORNING. SHE didn't eat much—she's just a doll. Well, not just a doll. She is also, now, a breakfast cereal. As too are Batman and the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. Ralston Purina is definitely on a roll. Funny, it says just "Ralston" on the front of the box. Batman's cereal is yellowish and shaped like a batman with wings spread. Barbie's cereal is not shaped like Barbie but like the "fun shapes of your daughter's favorite Barbie things." Pink hearts, yellow stars, lavender cordless phones.

Breakfast with Barbie has less sugar per serving than Kellogg's Fruit Loops or Fruity Marshmallow Krispies—or two hot fudge sundaes, for that matter. The chart on the box doesn't list its standing against Ninja Turtles or Batman since they are also made by Ralston Purina, but with marshmallows listed as the second ingredient on the Turtles' box I think they might give those Fruity Krispies a run for their money. The Turtles' cereal, incidentally, consists of pink, green, pale blue and lavender turtle-like marshmallow blobs mixed with a sweetened cereal in the pillow shape familiar to fans of the Chex line.

The cold-cereal aisle may be the most dynamic one in the whole supermarket. For here, in less than 40 feet, is played out a ferocious fight among corporate giants for consumer attention, for cereal sales, for shelf space. Kelloggs, Post, Quaker, Ralston Purina, General Mills, Nabisco and the house brand are the standard lineup. The cereal side of the aisle is roughly split into upper and lower shelves, for adults and children respectively.

On the lower shelves, character licensing is the dominant trend. Something a kid can know and want the first time down the aisle: cartoon and action figures from TV and film, and video games. In addition to the above-mentioned characters, cereals of the past few years have been based on GI Joe, Pac Man, Donkey Kong Junior, Mr. T. In my supermarket, Batman cereal knocked Nintendo Game System cereal off the shelf.

On the top shelves, refined typography and oats are the latest trends, though oats have been discredited somewhat. Oatbake, Post Honey Bunches of Oats, Cracklin' Oat Bran, Oat Bran Options, Oat Chex, Quaker Oat Bran, Kellogg's Common Sense Oat Bran, Post Oat Flakes. If fun is the dominant theme of lower-shelf marketing, health is the theme of the top shelves.

★ ★ ★

Unlike the cartoon characters, nutrition and health have been a part of cereal marketing since its inception. Cold cereal began as

a health food, developed at a sanitarium in Battle Creek, Mich., in the first years of the 20th century. Dr. John Harvey Kellogg was the director of the sanitarium, a robust man with a booming voice who attracted thousands to his weekly lectures on nutrition and morality. Diet was an important part of Dr. Kellogg's regimen. He was an avid experimenter in the sanitarium's kitchen, where he developed Granola and Caramel Cereal Coffee. In 1904, with his younger brother Will, he developed the Corn Flake. Breakfast in America was never to be the same again.

Cold cereal spread slowly at first, the Kellogg brothers pushing their flakes and berries as a healthy alternative to the traditional hearty but heavy morning repast. A breakfast appropriate to America's agrarian past but not to its urban future. Cold cereal was an adjunct to the mission of the sanitarium, a side business. However, an eccentric entrepreneur from Texas opened their eyes to the possibilities of cold cereal, and right under their noses.

Charles W. Post was a guest at the sanitarium (he paid his bill with blankets left from a bankrupt venture) and shortly thereafter started his own cereal company in Battle Creek. He developed a crunchy nugget he called Grape Nuts and a fair imitation of the Kellogg's corn flake which he first marketed as Elijah's Manna. The name met with some protest from religious groups and was shortly changed to Post Toasties. Unlike the Kelloggs, Post was an aggressive marketer and advertised his cereal in newspapers and the emerging "national" magazines, like *Colliers* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. He filled his ads with hyperbolic copy extolling the miraculous curative powers of the Post products. His Toasties and his cereal coffee substitute, Postum, were the sure-cures for tired blood, acne, indigestion, baldness, clouded vision, almost any affliction, in fact. Post started selling lots of Toasties. Other would-be cereal kings flocked to Battle Creek, and there were soon over a hundred cereal companies calling it home.

The Kellogg's Corn Flakes Company eventually became the vehicle of the younger brother. Under his guidance the company followed the marketing lead of Post and, in fact, quickly surpassed its rival in sales. It was Will Kellogg's signature which became the company logo and which, in the heady days of the early '20s, spread across the largest electric sign in the world, in bright red letters against the blue-black sky above Times Square. The company developed a national advertising and sales campaign and gave away thousands of sample boxes. When the Depression came, they doubled their advertising.

The early cereal companies were dominated by their founders, but as the markets

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